

THE ARENA

B. O. FLOWER: EDITOR



Political Corruption in Pennsylvania
By RUDOLPH BLANKENBURG

Impurity of Divorce Suppression, by Theodore Schroeder
The Armour Car Conspiracy, - - - by W. G. Joerns

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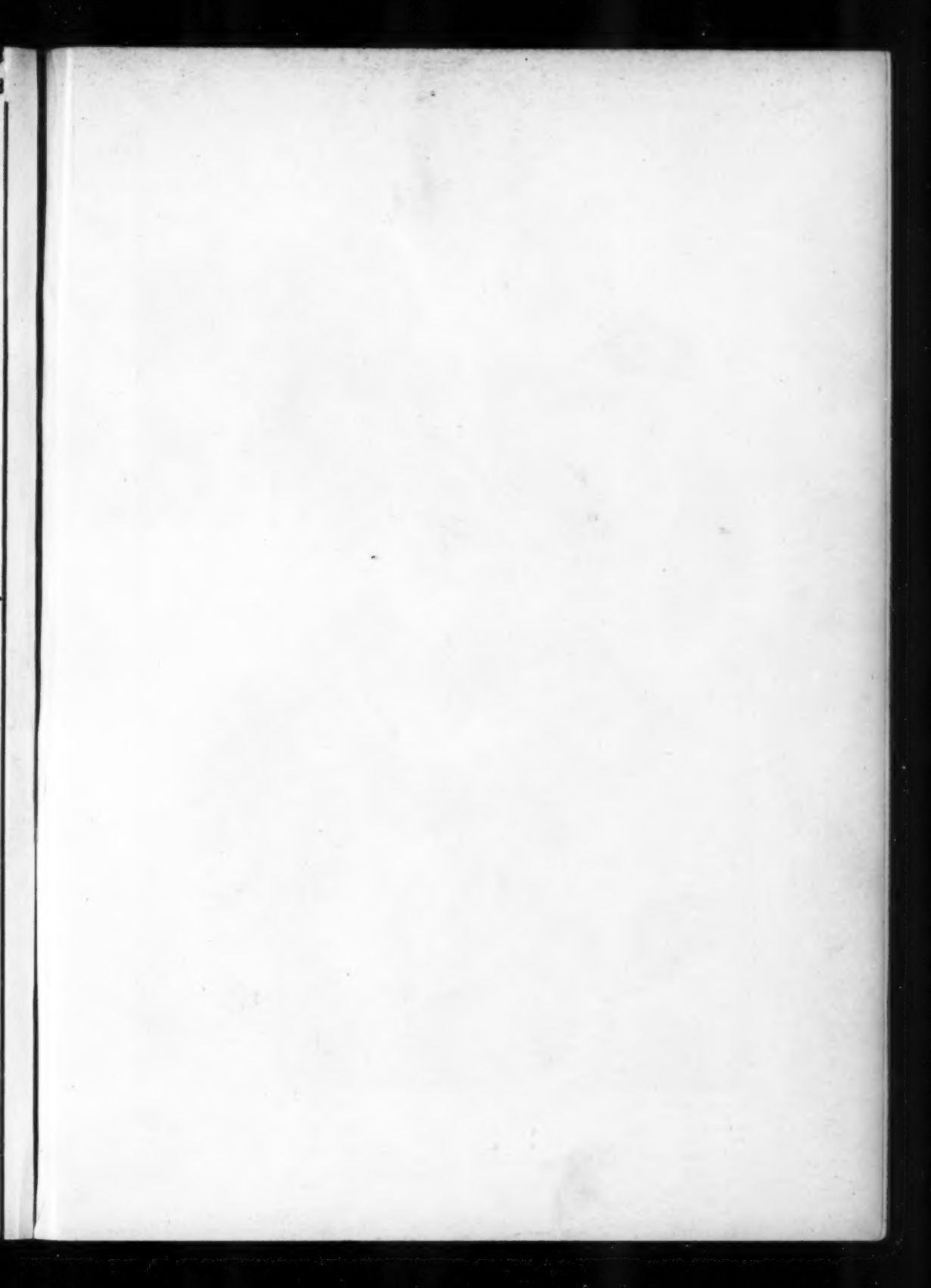




Photo. by Mors, Boston

MATTHEW ARNOLD

"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them.
They master us and force us into the arena,
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."—HEINE.

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FORTY YEARS IN THE WILDERNESS; OR, MASTERS AND RULERS OF "THE FREEMEN" OF PENNSYLVANIA.*

II. THE MASTER-SPIRIT.

BY RUDOLPH BLANKENBURG.

CHAPTER I.

"SPROUTING AND SPREADING."

ON BEING asked a few hours after Senator Quay's death to express an opinion on his life and career as a citizen and politician for publication in the daily papers, my reply was "*De mortuis nil nisi bonum*"—less cannot be said, more should not be said—at this time.

It is quite natural to praise or eulogize a deserving fellow-citizen on the announcement of his death or while the sorrowing relatives and friends are assembled around the bier; it is, on the other hand, an act of commendable forbearance and friendly regard for the decedent's family to refrain from criticizing or censuring a deceased friend or foe before he has been laid to rest. For this reason the writer's lips kept sealed at that time and would not this early day break silence were it not for the fact that some of the late Senator's injudicious and precipitate friends call for earnest and emphatic con-

demnation of their misguided efforts to perpetuate Quay's much disputed, dubious memory by calling a fine new public-school in Philadelphia "The Matthew Stanley Quay School."

This movement was suggested by one of his scintillescent underlings and would probably have attracted little attention had it not been given countenance and endorsement by the Governor of Pennsylvania. He is reported to have said: "It would be a wise thing to name the new school after Senator Quay. . . . Senator Quay was for years Pennsylvania's most prominent citizen. . . . I know of no man who better represented Pennsylvania than Senator Quay, and to name a school for him would be most fitting."

Governor Pennypacker would have been wise had he heeded the late Senator's entreaty "*Imploram pacem*"; had he permitted the life of Mr. Quay to pass into history for matured minds to analyze, study, profit by and eschew. When he, however, sanctions a movement to place his friend on a high pedestal as a shining light for the children of the Republic to

*The first of this series of articles appeared in the January, 1905, number of THE ARENA.



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MATTHEW STANLEY QUAY,

"THE MASTER-SPIRIT."

follow and to worship, he arouses the irrepressible anger and earnest protest of all thoughtful people who place unselfish consecration to public duty above sordid dedication to an insatiate lust for power, corrupted, and wealth unearned.

Let me predict here, if this immoral suggestion should be carried out for the guidance of the present generation, a regenerated citizenship will, hereafter, demolish the tablet and thus redeem the name and the fame of our common schools from an affront that we should never permit to be inflicted.

Governor Pennypacker, personally and in private life, is an altogether lovable character; it has been my pleasure and privilege to have known, liked and respected him for many years. He occupied an honored position on the bench for thirteen years when, at the instigation of the Quay machine, he was tempted to exchange a judge's unsullied ermine for a misfit political mantle. The Governor

is too guileless and honest to know much of political knavery, and of too judicially narrow a mind to recognize or admit wrong until it has been legally proved. Besides this he has, alas, succumbed to a strange malady, hitherto unknown in the annals of medical science; this malady has been pronounced by the most renowned diagnosticians as an aggravated and almost incurable case of "Quay-phobia."

In a moment of strange delusion Governor Pennypacker pronounced Senator Quay "a greater man than Clay or Webster," yet he has never fortified this grotesque pronunciamento with even an attempt at justification. It is to be hoped that upon calm reflection the Governor will modify his estimate of Senator Quay and thus prevent the bones of Clay and Webster from rattling in their graves, in indignant protest.



Photo. by Gutekunst, Phila.

SAMUEL W. PENNYPACKER,

GOVERNOR OF PENNSYLVANIA,

Who Pronounced Senator Quay "a Greater Man than Clay or Webster."

The only defensible comparison between Clay, the statesman from Kentucky, and Quay, the Pennsylvania politician, is the fact that both were sons of clergymen.

The closest and warmest friends of Mr. Quay, those who knew him best, have had the good sense never to attribute to him any degree or variety of virtues, such as the virtue of self-sacrifice, temperance, high-minded devotion to the right, charity and other characteristics which we may comprise in the general term, "sincere and cordial conformity to the commands of the moral law." They have lauded him on account of his political prowess, his ability to snatch tainted victory from threatened defeat, his inexhaustible resources in manipulating legislatures, working conventions and carrying elections; his taunting confession that he, a United States Senator, gambled in stocks and did not care who

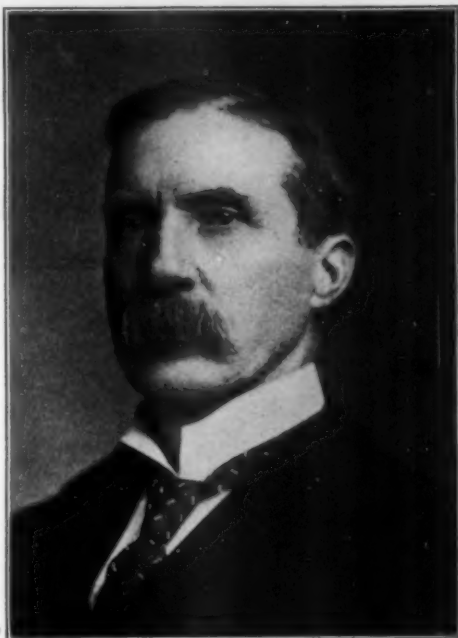


Photo. by Robbins, Bradford, Pa.

LEWIS EMERY, JR.,

MEMBER FROM MCKEAN COUNTY,

Active in the Opposition to the Riot Bill, who spurned and exposed compromising offers made by supporters of the Bill.

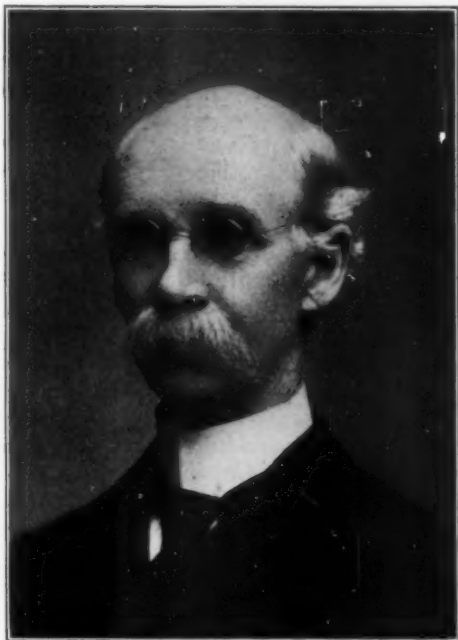


Photo. by MacIntire, Phila.

GEORGE E. MAPES,

Leader of the Anti-Riot Bill Organization in the Legislature of 1879.

knew it, and many accomplishments of a like character. Others admired him because of his literary tastes, his love of books and the cleverness with which he could dilate on the heavenly bodies, discuss religious questions or intricate scientific problems.

Let the reader judge, after perusing this sketch of "The Master-Spirit" which aims to be fair and truthful, whether Matthew Stanley Quay should occupy a niche among the great men of the Republic, or whether his memory should be allowed to vanish in generous oblivion.

Simon Cameron, the father of machine-politics in Pennsylvania, introduced the corrupt use of money to secure political results, but it was reserved for his most astute lieutenant, Matthew Stanley Quay, to carry organized political corruption

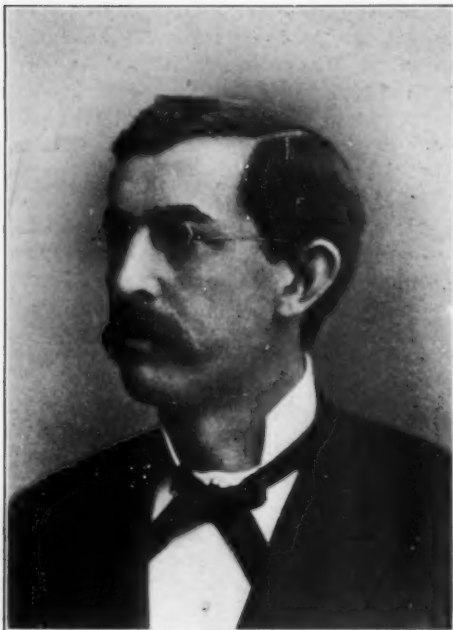


Photo. by Lemer, Harrisburg.

CHARLES S. WOLFE,

REPRESENTATIVE FROM UNION COUNTY,

Through whose earnest and untiring efforts the attempted bribery was exposed.

and knavery to the highest degree of perfection and reduce the boodle system in public affairs to one of the exact sciences.

Quay was a natural born schemer, and his childhood education and training failed to save him from becoming one of the most conspicuous characters in shady political life our country has ever produced. The son of a Presbyterian clergyman, he early learned the value of maintaining appearances. He secured a college education and studied law, was admitted to the bar but never attempted to practice in the courts. He appears, however, to have learned enough of law to enable him to violate it both in letter and spirit, and still avoid its penalties. He enjoyed a short apprenticeship in journalism, sufficient to demonstrate to his fertile brain the value of machine-controlled newspapers in misleading and deceiving the public. His supposed re-

ligious training—with conscience left out—legal knowledge of how to escape when cornered, and newspaper experience of making the worse appear the better cause, were employed to serve their possessor's purposes during his entire political career.

These early acquirements were the ready tools of Quay's statecraft. His entrance into political life was at a period favorable for the exercise of his peculiar political gifts. From the time he became of age until his death, with the exception of about three years, he was comfortably bedded in some public berth. He used the power which place and patronage gives for shrewd political machinations and profit, and while he secured the reputation of having resigned many offices, it is a matter of record, that a resignation with him was the stepping-stone to another and better place. He never resigned himself out of comfortable office but once, and that he did in a moment of pique within a few months of the period when his term would expire; this was the only occasion during his long career in which he permitted his temper to cause him the loss of even a month's salary or perquisites.

Shortly after becoming of age Quay was appointed Prothonotary of Beaver county by Governor Pollock. This appointment was made upon the joint recommendation of Col. A. K. McClure and Andrew G. Curtin, then Secretary of the Commonwealth. Quay, later on, showed his true character and his idea of gratitude when he deserted Curtin, who had given him the first foothold in public life, for Cameron, and at the very time when his power and influence might have served to make Curtin United States Senator and to destroy the baneful Cameron control of politics in Pennsylvania. There was quite a difference in the characteristics of Cameron and Quay. The former would change his party relations once a year, if it served his purpose and promised him power and office, while Quay, though ostensibly remaining a Republican, would desert and betray

one circle of political associates and form an alliance with a new one at the beginning of every campaign, if that best advanced his interests.

Originally a Whig, Quay had joined the newly-formed Republican party, and upon the expiration of his appointed term as Prothonotary, was elected for a full term, and reelected for a second term. This continuous tenure in one of the choicest offices of Beaver county, gave him his first schooling in constructive political management, for, although still under thirty years of age, he speedily became one of the dominant Republican leaders of that county.

He took an active part in the campaign of 1860, which made Curtin Governor of Pennsylvania and Abraham Lincoln President of the United States, attracting Curtin's attention to his ability as an organizer. With the breaking out of the Civil war, he resigned the Prothonotaryship, and helped to raise a company in the 10th Pennsylvania Reserves, being mustered in as a lieutenant in his company. Before the regiment was sent to the front, Governor Curtin concluded that he needed him to assist in the enlistment and organization of the troops being hurried forward from Pennsylvania to the seat of war. He, therefore, appointed him assistant Commissary-General on his own staff, with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, and Quay hurried to Harrisburg to enter upon his new duties. When, shortly afterwards, the military staff of the Governor was abolished, he became Curtin's private secretary, acting in that capacity for a year.

The following year he appointed Quay as Colonel of the 134th Pennsylvania Infantry, the latter assuming command in August, 1862. His regiment missed participation in the second battle of Bull Run by a few hours, arriving on the ground after the fighting had ceased. A similar experience befell it at Antietam, after which Quay was attacked by typhoid fever. Never of robust con-

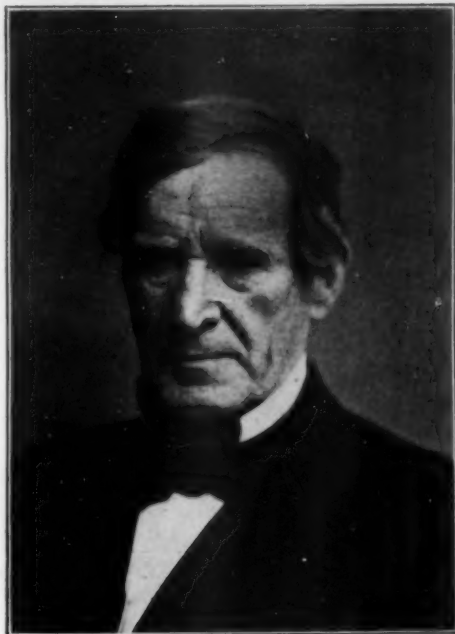


Photo. by Gutekunst, Phila.

JEREMIAH S. BLACK,

COUNSEL FOR THE PROSECUTION,

Formerly Attorney-General of the United States and
Member of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania.

stitution, his recovery was slow, and upon the advice of Governor Curtin, who wanted a military State Agent at Washington to look after the interests of the Pennsylvania soldiers in the field, he resigned his commission the day previous to the battle of Fredericksburg. Learning that a battle was to be fought the next day, he tendered his services as a volunteer, to General Tyler, the commander of the brigade in which his regiment was included, and served on the staff of the latter in that battle. A quarter of a century afterwards he was awarded by Congress a medal of honor for valor displayed on this occasion, and although some of his critics ascribe this award largely to political influence, justice demands that due credit be given Colonel Quay for undoubted courage displayed during that memorable conflict.

He was, immediately afterwards, trans-

ferred to Washington as military State Agent, by appointment of Governor Curtin. Before the close of the war he was recalled to Harrisburg to again become the military secretary of Governor Curtin in which position he materially extended his acquaintanceship throughout the State. He was thus favored by fortune to make many friends, extend courtesies and favors, which he was not loth, later on, to turn to advantage in his political skirmishes and fights.

After the downfall of the rebellion, he returned to Beaver county, and asked the Republicans to send him to the Legislature. This request was readily complied with, the fact that he was in favor with the revered War Governor of the State, being a sufficient passport to popular favor at home. Twice reelected, it was during his third term at Harrisburg that he played false to his benefactor, to become the political pupil and final successor of the astute Simon Cameron, as "The Master-Spirit" of the Republican organization of Pennsylvania.

The Legislature of 1867 was to elect a successor to Edgar Cowan in the United States Senate. Cameron and Curtin were the leading candidates for the succession and it was evident that the one who could succeed in organizing the House in his own interest, would have a decided advantage in the contest for the Senatorship. Quay was Curtin's candidate for Speaker, Cameron putting forward J. P. Glass, of Allegheny. To the great surprise of Curtin's followers, Quay abandoned the field the night before the House was to meet, and turned in for Glass, who was elected, and the control of the House was thus transferred to Cameron. This was an act of treachery which Curtin never forgave.

Quay had already named one of his sons for the War Governor, and perhaps considered this a sufficient payment of the debt of gratitude he owed the latter. At any rate he abandoned his former benefactor and enlisted under the Cameronian flag, his first public reward being

that of the appointment as Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, by Speaker Glass. There were ugly charges to the effect that Quay had secured something more substantial than the leadership of the House for his desertion of Curtin, but these charges were never proved in Court. It is a matter of record, however, that Quay soon began to build a \$13,000 house which became his residence in Beaver. Shortly afterwards, too, he was accused by the *Pittsburg Commercial* with trying to persuade Internal Revenue Supervisor Alexander P. Tutton to accept \$1,000 per week as the price of suspending legal proceedings against a distillery charged with defrauding the Revenue. Quay brought a libel suit against the *Commercial* which was, as is usual in such cases, never tried, the outcome of this episode being the acquisition of the *Commercial* by Quay's friends, who thus took a bond of fate that the charge should never be repeated.

This transfer of his fealty from Curtin to Cameron marked the entrance of Quay as a prominent factor into the field of State politics. Cameron had him appointed Secretary of the Republican State Central Committee, and in four years the pupil had become a greater adept in political stratagem than the master. From that time forward Quay became more necessary to Cameron than Cameron was to Quay, a fact which was given a vivid illustration a few years later, when the younger Cameron is said to have advanced a large sum to make good the peculations of Quay and some of his associates from the funds of the State Treasury. Quay's political career was a costly one, but those who profited by his methods could not afford to do without him at any price.

Cameron made the use of money an essential of success in politics, but Quay made politics expensive beyond the most extravagant dreams of the founder of the Pennsylvania Republican machine. An illustration of the growing use of money in the carrying on of political campaigns

can be presented in the statement that the cost of the Republican State campaign in 1860, during which Col. A. K. McClure was the Republican State Chairman, was only \$12,000. Quay's election as Republican State Chairman, a position without any visible emoluments, in 1895 was reported, by himself, to have cost more than \$200,000. More money was expended in the later years of Quay's leadership in single rural counties during heated campaigns than was expended in the entire State to carry it for Lincoln and Curtin in 1860.

Quay's first and most substantial political reward as State leader came in 1872, when, after having assisted in carrying the State for General Hartranft for Governor, he was made Secretary of the Commonwealth, at the beginning of Hartranft's administration, being re-appointed in Hartranft's second term. At this period Quay's longing for wealth began to outstrip his political ambition. The emoluments of the office of Secretary of the Commonwealth did not equal the value of his services to the public, in Quay's own estimation. The Legislature of 1877, a subservient body, revived a forgotten and discarded office in Philadelphia, called a Recordership, an office notable for its entire uselessness and its big fees, which amounted to not less than \$40,000 a year. The ink was not dry on Governor Hartranft's signature to this piece of graft legislation when Quay's name was sent to the Senate as the new Recorder of Philadelphia. The Senate, in duty bound, promptly confirmed the appointment and Quay exchanged Harrisburg for Philadelphia as a place of residence, with an increase of emoluments which paid considerable more than moving expenses. Though a rich office had been created purposely for him, Quay's Philadelphia experience proved disappointing. At Harrisburg as at Beaver he was easily the dominating political influence, in Philadelphia he could hardly find himself in the crowd. Whatever political influence he exerted



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FRANKLIN B. GOWEN,
COUNSEL FOR THE PROSECUTION,

President of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad,
who brought to bay and exterminated the
"Mollie Maguire."

in that city had to be executed by proxy, and this did not suit the statesman from Beaver.

He was selected as Republican State Chairman during the campaign of 1878, when the State was carried for Henry M. Hoyt for Governor. With the inauguration of Hoyt in January, 1879, Quay promptly resigned the Recordership of Philadelphia to accept his old position as Secretary of the Commonwealth, under the new Governor.

It was during the session of the Legislature of 1879, that the famous Pittsburg Riot Bill exposures occurred, which involved several of Quay's friends and made it necessary for them to be saved from the penitentiary through his powerful intervention as a member and the controlling spirit of the Pardon Board.

The history of this Riot Bill, though

old and forgotten by many, is most interesting and instructive and shows how, from the earliest days of Quay's power and influence, he perverted the talents of which he was undoubtedly possessed to the basest uses. Instead of protecting the interests of the people he made it his business to serve soulless corporations, to whom neither the laws of God or of man are a barrier in the prosecution of their selfish and lawless plans. He did not hesitate to encourage bribery, and after conviction of the criminals secure for them a free pardon and save them from disgracing even the penitentiary!

The Pittsburg riots of 1877, had resulted in the destruction of property to the value of two or three million dollars, for which, under the law, Allegheny county was liable. The Pennsylvania Railroad was the heaviest loser, and wanted its money. The Allegheny county tax-payers demurred, and a scheme was concocted to have the State assume the bill, with a million and a half thrown in, to be used if necessary in convincing reluctant legislators that the measure was a moral and just one.

With the introduction into the House of the \$4,000,000 riot appropriation, a companion bill had been added taxing petroleum fifty cents a barrel. It was the intention of the Republican leaders in the State to make these two bills party measures, and pass them under the caucus lash. Fortunately for the interest of the oil-producers who were to have been mulcted in the entire sum by means of this oil-tax, about twenty-five oil-country members constituted the balance of power between the Republican and Democratic wings of the House, and by joining forces with the latter, had the bill at their mercy, as the first two or three test-votes upon the measure demonstrated. They asked Charles S. Wolfe, of Union county, one of the ablest and best Republican members in the House, to assist them in their fight, and proceeded to show that they could defeat the \$4,000,000 Riot-Bill grab, unless a dozen or more members

of the House should be corrupted by the use of money.

When the fact had been established that if the oil-country members should hold honestly together and maintain their hostility to the Riot Bill it would be hopelessly defeated, one attempt that might break the delegation was through overtures to log-roll all legislation favorable to the oil country through both Houses in exchange for enough votes from the members representing the oil counties to pass the Riot Bill, the offer including also the passage of an interstate commerce bill through Congress then in session at Washington.

Another way open was by that most infamous of all temptations placed in the path of weak men—"bribery." Fearing that bribery would be attempted, the leaders of the opposition laid a trap for the suspected bribers, into which a half-dozen or more of the latter, including the late William H. Kemble, promptly fell.

The representatives from the oil counties had been for several years trying to secure the passage through the Legislature of a free pipe-line law and an anti-freight discrimination law, both of which measures were pending in the House at this time. The Oil-Producers' Union, an association of the leading independent oil-producers, had brought suits against the Pennsylvania Railroad for damages based upon rebates granted to favored shippers, and one of their chief attorneys in these suits was George Shiras, Jr., a high-minded, prominent member of the bar, afterwards one of the Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States. Shiras was also attorney for Allegheny county in its claim before the Legislature for the passage of the \$4,000,000 appropriation designed to relieve the county from the necessity of paying the riot losses, for which it was liable under the existing law. These details are necessary to explain what followed.

In the House, the one experienced member from the oil counties was Representative George E. Mapes, of Venango,

who, in consequence of his former legislative knowledge was recognized as the leader of the oil-country contingent. His principal associate was Lewis Emery, Jr., of McKean county, a large producer of oil and a man of great personal force of character.

The bribery story is too long to relate in detail; a few salient points will disclose the deep laid plot and the sturdy and honorable efforts of Wolfe, Mapes and Emery to defeat the damnable legislation, instigated by the Pennsylvania Railroad, furthered by Quay, boodled by Kemble and made forever execrable by the more than criminal act of granting a pardon to Kemble and the other conspirators.

On the afternoon of April 5, 1879, the following telegram was directed to Mapes and Emery from Pittsburg, by B. B. Campbell, then President of the Oil-Producers' Union, and living at Parnassus, about twenty-five miles north of Pittsburg: "Lewis Emery or George E. Mapes, House of Representatives, Harrisburg: Can you dine with me tomorrow? Most important business, vital to the success of our suits. You can return on fast line Sunday evening. One or both must come. Answer mmediately. B. B. Campbell." After conferring, Mapes and Emery, although very much in the dark as to what this mysterious telegram meant, replied: "To B. B. Campbell, Pittsburg: Will see you tomorrow. Mapes & Emery." Taking a mid-night train they reached Pittsburg on Sunday morning, and after breakfasting at the station, boarded the Allegheny Valley train for Parnassus. On board the train they found George Shiras, Jr., with whom they were acquainted, Shiras being, in fact, Emery's personal attorney. He informed them that he was likewise going to Parnassus to be one of the guests at the dinner. When the train reached its destination they were met by Campbell and escorted to his house. Taking them into his library, Mr. Campbell informed his legislative guests that being in Pittsburg the day

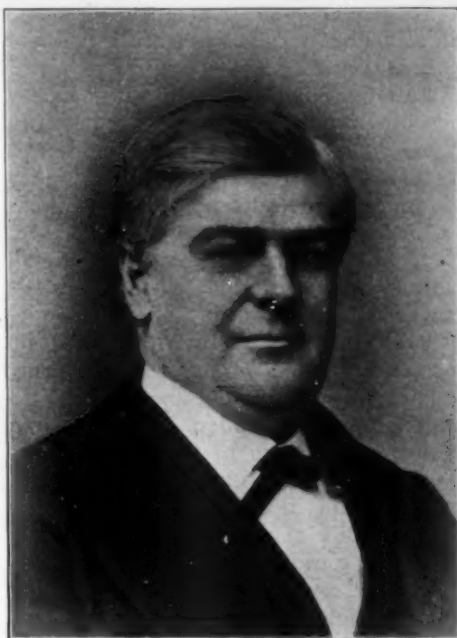


Photo. by Gutekunst, Phila.

WILLIAM H. KEMBLE,

Who pleaded guilty to the charge of bribing members of the Legislature.

Author of the famous expression, "Addition, Division and Silence."

before, he had been requested to go to Mr. Shiras' office. There he had met J. K. Moorhead, President of the Pittsburg Board of Commerce and also Representative Frazer, of the Allegheny delegation in the Legislature. He said that these gentlemen told him that they required the assistance of the oil delegation to pass the Riot Bill, and that they could assure Mr. Campbell that in exchange for their votes the legislation so strongly desired by the oil men, namely, the free pipe-line bill and the anti-discrimination bill would be passed. They further agreed that, in order to insure good faith in this proposition, the friends of the Riot Bill would agree to postpone their measure until the oil legislation was passed. It was also stated that the same influences would help to secure the passage of the Interstate Commerce Bill through Congress.

After dinner the matter was discussed in all its bearings between Campbell and Shiras representing the Oil-Producers' Association, and Mapes and Emery representing the oil-country delegation in the Legislature. Two hours were spent in a stroll along the river bank, and every argument that could be brought to bear upon the two legislators to induce them to accept the proposition was urged. The latter, however, stated that they believed it to be an unjust measure, indefensible in principle, that it ought to be beaten regardless of its relation to any other measure, and they declined to entertain the proposition. Campbell and Shiras urged them to return to Harrisburg, call the oil delegation together, submit the proposition to them as a body, and see how the majority of the members were disposed toward it. This they agreed to do, and returning to Harrisburg on the Sunday-night train, they called the score or more of members from the oil-counties together on the following day and submitted the proposition with the information that they had rejected it in toto. The proposition was unanimously declined by the entire delegation, and the decision was telegraphed to Mr. Shiras on Tuesday morning. At the interview at Parnassus, Mapes and Emery were not specifically told that the real source of this offer for the withdrawal of opposition to the oil-country legislation came from the Pennsylvania Railroad, which was to be the chief beneficiary of the \$4,000,000 appropriation, but they strongly suspected that it did. This suspicion was confirmed ten days later when Emery received the following telegram: "Pittsburg, April 15th, 7 P. M. To Lewis Emery, Jr., Lochiel Hotel: I am assured by Hampton that the Pennsylvania Railroad will make desired arrangement if time can be given. Can you not secure postponement of Riot Bill until next week. Answer. George Shiras, Jr." Hampton was the Pittsburg counsel for the Pennsylvania Railroad.

The importance of this dispatch is ex-

plained by the fact that the final vote upon the Riot Bill was to take place the following forenoon, the Bill already having been defeated and the pending vote being upon a motion to reconsider which if voted down would defeat the Bill for the session. Emery consulted with the oil delegation in the morning of the following day, and replied as follows: "George Shiras, Pittsburg, Pa.: Could not get matters arranged in shape, and cannot help you in any possible form. Lewis Emery, Jr."

When Emery took his seat in the House on the morning of April 16th a messenger handed him the following note. "Harrisburg, April 16, 1879. Dear Sir: I am told Mr. Shiras has telegraphed you in regard to a matter in which your constituency are interested. If so, and you have leisure I would be glad to see you at my office. Yours truly, M. S. Quay. To Hon. Lewis Emery, House of Representatives." Mr. Quay was at this time Secretary of the Commonwealth, by appointment of Governor Hoyt. The vote was about being taken and Emery replied by note that he would see Mr. Quay as soon as he could get away. While still in his seat, however, Representative Frazer introduced an attorney by the name of W. S. Purviance, who handed Emery the following note: "Lewis Emery. Dear Sir: Mr. Purviance may see you in reference to the overtures from the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, looking to the defeat of the Oil-Tax Bill and the passage at Washington of the Anti-Discrimination Bill. No such arrangement will be made without full consultation, but we need time. In view of this we wish you and a few of your friends to agree to postpone final action on the Riot Bill until next week. Yours truly, George Shiras, Jr." Emery told Purviance that the oil men would defeat the Bill, and nothing could be done to save it.

While he was waiting the final roll-call, a second note from Mr. Quay was handed him. "Harrisburg, April 16, 1879. My dear Sir: I am told the

Allegheny legislation is now up in the House. It will be a finality, of course, if the motion to reconsider is defeated, and it will be difficult to make any arrangement with its friends if they are successful. If it is worth while to present Mr. Shiras' proposition to the council, you had better have the vote upon the motion to reconsider postponed until afternoon, and see me after the adjournment. Yours truly, M. S. Quay. To the Hon. Lewis Emery, Jr., House of Representatives." Mapes and Emery and the other leaders of the opposition to the Riot Bill, however, had compared notes and knew that the measure was doomed. Just before the roll-call began, Charles S. Wolfe, of Union county, arose and addressed himself to the Speaker, as follows: "Mr. Speaker: We have evidence that certain members of this House have been offered money or other valuable consideration to vote for this measure. I rise now to announce that after this vote is taken I propose to offer a resolution for the appointment of a committee to investigate charges of bribery in connection with this Bill." Wolfe sat down, and the roll-call proceeded. His warning had the desired effect. The motion to reconsider was voted down, and the Bill was dead.

Mr. Quay's connection with the matter did not cease, however, at this point. The House took a recess for dinner, and Emery went to the Lochiel Hotel. What followed is given in Mr. Emery's own words under oath in his testimony before the committee of investigation. He said: "I went to my dinner at the Lochiel Hotel, and as I came out from dinner the clerk in the office told me that Mr. Quay would like to see me, and said, 'I will send for him.' He sent to the billiard-room, and Mr. Quay came out, and we sat at the window right next to the big safe where we hang coats behind the door. I said to him that I had received his notes, and he answered that he had received mine in reply and that we were in such a condition that we

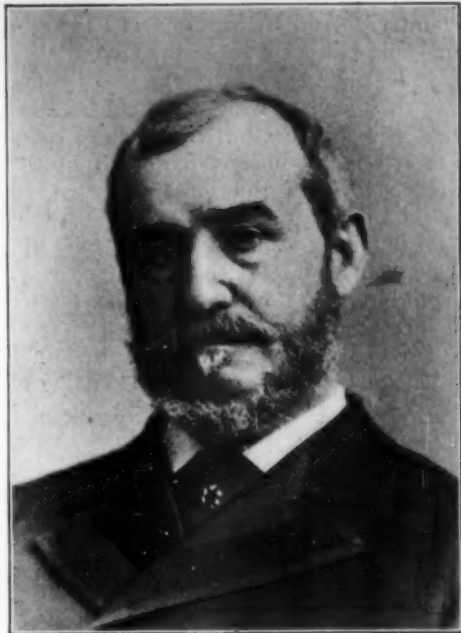


Photo. by Gutekunst, Phila.

LEWIS C. CASSIDY,
COUNSEL FOR THE DEFENCE,
Afterwards Attorney-General of Pennsylvania.

could not do anything in the proposition that had been made to us. 'Well,' says he (Quay), 'I was at Philadelphia a week ago last Saturday, and I was up to Mr. Cassatt's office to get some passes, and while there Mr. Cassatt brought up the conversation. He said that he would be very much pleased if he (Quay) would assist in passing the Riot Bill, and that they were very anxious to have it passed, and he (Cassatt) wished he (Quay) could see what he could do with the oil delegation to get their assistance. And he (Quay) said that he would do so, and he said that Mr. Cassatt would see that all the propositions that had been made to us would be carried out, providing we would support the Bill when it came up again.' Says I, 'it is dead.' 'Well,' says he, 'perhaps not. Perhaps it can be revived, and what I would like to know in case it is revived is as to whether we could get any assistance from your

country.' And I told him that I thought he could not get it up in the House. He says he did n't know. Says I, 'I believe you do know. I believe you cannot pass that Bill in the House. I believe there are too many independent men in the House to pass the measure. It even could not be gotten up again.' I told him it did n't matter where it came up, I could not support the Bill in no way. And he said I better take the matter before our people, our delegation, and see if they would not consider it, and I told him I would, and on the evening of the seventeenth, I think it was, I submitted the proposition again to the delegation. I think there were ten of them altogether, and they said that they would not consider any overtures whatever, that if they had got to be punished with an oil-tax because they would not support the Bill, why, they would submit, they would not change their front a particle. The Riot Bill could stay where it was."

In answer to a question by Charles S. Wolfe, of the Investigating Committee, as to the extent of the proposition to pass the Riot Bill made to Emery and Mapes at Parnassus, Mr. Emery said: "The arrangement was that these bills (the Free Pipe-Line Bill and the Anti-Discrimination Bill), should be passed, that oil should not be taxed, and the Interstate Commerce Bill should be passed at Washington if possible. That was the promise right out, flat-footed."

On the last day of the session a prosecuting committee was appointed by the House to bring criminal prosecutions against all participants in the attempt to corrupt the Legislature. Twenty-two members testified to having been offered money or other valuable consideration for their support of the Riot Bill. Prosecutions were brought in the Dauphin County Criminal Court, with a brilliant array of attorneys, among whom for the prosecution were: Franklin B. Gowen, Jeremiah S. Black and Matthew Carpenter, of Wisconsin; for the defense William B. Mann, F. Carroll Brewster

and Lewis C. Cassidy. When all pleas for delay had been exhausted, four of the first five indicted bribers arraigned, namely: William H. Kemble, Charles B. Salter, Jesse R. Crawford and William F. Rumberger pleaded guilty rather than permit the testimony against them to be presented in Court, and the fifth one, Emil J. Petroff, was convicted after a trial. The pleas of guilty and the conviction took place on March 8, 1880, and the guilty parties were remanded to appear on March 29th, for sentence. Two days before Kemble and his associates were to be sentenced Quay convened the Board of Pardons, of which he was a member, and tried to persuade his fellow-members, consisting of Lieutenant-Governor Charles W. Stone, Attorney-General Henry W. Palmer, and Secretary of Internal Affairs, Aaron K. Dunkle, to recommend a pardon in advance of sentence. Dunkle acquiesced, but Stone and Palmer refused. The following night, Kemble and his associates fled the State, forfeiting their bail. Nearly a month later, they were persuaded to return and appear for sentence, having undoubtedly been promised that the recalcitrant members of the Pardon Board would prove more tractable after sentence had been pronounced than they were before this had been done.

On April 26th, they appeared for sentence before Judge Pearson who inflicted a fine of \$1,000 each and a further penalty of one year at hard labor in the Penitentiary. The Pardon Board was convened the next day and the imprisonment feature of the sentence was promptly remitted, the convicted bribers being constructively in charge of the Sheriff less than twenty-four hours. The shameless audacity of this transaction caused an outburst of indignation, not only throughout the State, but throughout the whole country, the public sentiment regarding the transaction being concisely expressed in an editorial in the *New York Tribune*, in the following sentence: "A more insolent defiance of

public sentiment has not been seen since Tweed asked the tax-payers of New York, what they were going to do about it." Religious bodies adopted resolutions denouncing the pardon, and even the most hide-bound party organs declined to defend it. It is worthy of note in this connection that this is the only important instance in which Quay defied public sentiment and incurred personal odium to save somebody else from going to jail. In his after career, other men were permitted to commit suicide, die from worry, or run away to save Quay from going to prison, furnishing examples of self-abnegation which he never cared to imitate.

During the period in which the convicted bribers were hiding from the penalties of the law, Quay was having troubles of his own. He, in connection with J. Blake Walters, Cashier of the State Treasury, and some others, had been speculating with the funds of the State Treasury. Samuel Butler, a Chester county Quaker, had been elected State Treasurer, and was to assume the duties of the office on May 1, 1880. It was necessary for the retiring State Treasurer, Amos C. Noyes, to turn over the State funds to his successor intact. The Quay and Walters shortage was said to amount to \$260,000. Butler, who made an examination of the State of the funds prior to his induction into office, refused to accept the notes of the defaulting speculators. A friend who paid a visit to Quay in his room at the Lochiel Hotel about that time, reported that in reply to his question as to what was going on, Quay answered that "he was debating whether he should cut his throat or jump into the Susquehanna river." Quay did neither, but let his friend go to Washington and implore Don. Cameron to help make good the deficit, which he did, and the money of the State Treasury was transferred to the custody of State Treasurer Samuel Butler in due time.

Quay lived to pass through other trying ordeals of a similar nature with no thought



Photo. by Gutekunst, Phila.

WILLIAM B. MANN,

COUNSEL FOR THE DEFENCE,

For years District-Attorney of Philadelphia.

of suicide. Not so with his associate, Cashier Blake Walters, upon whose mind the disgrace preyed so keenly that he took his own life after having written a letter to a friend in which he expressed his sorrow for his acts while Cashier of the State Treasury, and named the persons associated with him in the speculations through which the loss of the money was incurred, charging that a will stronger than his own led him on, meaning Quay.

Senator Quay's State Treasury experience haunted him to the end of his days. The exposures and detailed statements about this startling episode in his history, made by leading and responsible papers, did not seem to affect him outwardly, but intimate friends acknowledged that he was chafing beyond expression under these charges, though not on his own account. For reasons suggesting themselves he never took

steps to bring to justice his accusers, or to disprove the accusations, steps an innocent man would have taken without delay. He evidently felt assured that his equivocal position would not lose him the confidence and support of his co-partners in political brigandage.

When at last a cartoon of Quay was published in *Puck* that should have aroused even the most callous and brazen and was left unchallenged by the Senator, when he continued his exasperating and self-convicting silence, the following letter was addressed to him:

"PHILADELPHIA, August 5, 1890.

"HON. MATTHEW S. QUAY.—Dear Sir: The charges of embezzlement while State Treasurer of Pennsylvania, brought against you by the *New York World*, *Times*, *Evening Post*, *Nation*, *Puck* and other papers of responsibility, have so far met neither reply nor denial at your hands.

"It is and has been very irritating to many earnest Republicans to have you ignore these grave accusations, made most pointed and emphatic in last week's *Puck*, which undoubtedly you have seen. You are there depicted in a felon's garb, plainly called a felon, holding the whip and compelling the respectable leaders of the 'Grand Old Party' to march at the command of a felon overseer.

"As you perhaps shun suit for libel against any or all of your accusers on account of the great expense therein involved, it has been suggested by some of those Republicans who are indirectly smarting under these accusations, to raise a fund of sufficient amount to institute and push suits for civil and criminal libel against your open accusers.

"Please let me know if this plan of vindicating your honor as Chairman of the Republican National Committee and United States Senator meets with your approval and oblige,

"Yours respectfully,

"RUDOLPH BLANKENBURG."

This offer was made in good faith and the required funds had been underwritten, but Quay ignored the liberal proposition and went to his grave with this cloud hanging over him.

The one weapon of defence in which Quay excelled was "silence." He had cultivated the truism, "Speech is silvern, but silence is golden," until he became a past-master in that art; indeed it was his salvation in many troublesome situations. He was credited with the remarkable linguistic accomplishment of knowing how to "keep silent in sixteen different languages."

Quay's next exploit was to defeat Ex-Speaker Galusha A. Grow, who had enough votes assured him, for the United States Senate, supporting Henry W. Oliver, of Pittsburg, who was said to have made good a deficit of \$30,000 in the last State campaign. Grow's friends resented Quay's treachery, refused to enter the caucus and created a deadlock, which ultimately resulted in Quay's defeat, through the election of John I. Mitchell. In the following year Robert E. Pattison, Democrat, was elected Governor, and Mr. Quay retired for three years from the laborious field of "statesmanship," being practically the only interregnum from the beginning to the end of his office-holding career.

No man better understood the power and influence of the great railway corporations and their entire willingness to make liberal contributions to political campaigns in return for legislative and executive protection. Other sources for "campaign" funds were the banks, in return for deposits of State funds; oil, coal, steel and iron interests willingly contributed and were not the losers thereby. Mr. Quay ascertained, however, that out of office he was a rather insignificant citizen and could not command these resources. He, therefore, concluded to sacrifice himself once more on the altar of patriotism and made a bold dash for the State Treasurership!

The story of his speculations with the

Treasury funds had at that time not reached the public ear, and though the pardon of Kemble still left a bad taste in the public mouth he knew that the people, unfortunately, are apt to forget. Quay was elected State Treasurer by a majority of upwards of 40,000. He now became owner and dictator of the Republican State Organization, and thus master of the great corporate interests that had to bow to his imperial will and comply with his demands whenever he needed their assistance.

Quay resigned the Treasurership before the expiration of his term and entered the national arena through his election as United States Senator and his subsequent selection, in 1888, as Chairman of the National Republican Committee to conduct the campaign for Benjamin Harrison as President of the United States. He managed this campaign with a mastery of his own creation and of a character, which, if generally adopted in the conduct of campaigns, would soon establish a "national auction-block" for the sale of office to the highest bidder. His management in this contest was a mixture of lavish and often questionable expenditure of money and adroit strategy to throw his Democratic opponents off their guard, and culminated at the close in bluff "betting" on so unprecedented scale that it confounded the Tammany crowd and won for him the large class of voters who bestride the fence, ready to descend on the winning side.

His success as National Chairman made Quay feel "a bigger man than Harrison himself," and he soon made

himself intolerable to that sturdy, honest, but blunt statesman. When Quay asked for the promotion of his son over the heads of scores of senior officers in the army and Harrison declined to comply with this arrogant and unjust demand, the strained relations between the two culminated, and Quay is said never again to have visited the White House during Harrison's occupancy.

Harrison was one of the brainiest of our Presidents, his administration was clean and creditable and he had earned a re-nomination. Quay, from motives of revenge, not only tried to defeat him at the Minneapolis Convention, but took no part in the campaign of 1892, which resulted in the second election of Grover Cleveland. One of Quay's characteristics, never fully exposed, was his extreme intolerance of opposition and the visiting of swift punishment, no matter at what cost, upon those who had the temerity to cross his path. His thirst for revenge on such occasions was greater than his love of party and was carried to an extent that often resulted in the defeat of candidates of the party to which he professed allegiance.

The young politician whose public career began to sprout and put forth its first shoots at the small town of Beaver, had grown until at middle age his power had spread all over the State. His later career is even more remarkable and startling and will be described in another chapter.

(To be continued.)

RUDOLPH BLANKENBURG.
Philadelphia, Pa.

THE EXPANSION OF MUNICIPAL ACTIVITIES.

BY CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF,
Secretary of the National Municipal League.

ENGULFED as we are in the flood-tide of municipal expansion and development, we fail to appreciate how great has been the growth of municipal functions. Only a month or two ago I came across a summary of the Census Bureau's investigation of electric fire-alarm and police-patrol systems, which disclosed the very interesting fact, that out of thirty-eight cities of 100,000 population and over, only two, Kansas City and St. Joseph, Missouri, had no systems of electric fire-alarm. The total number of signaling and annunciating boxes was given as 37,832, and 85,070 as the number of alarms transmitted. In all there are 764 systems with a total mileage of wires amounting to 28,202 miles.

Here then we have a municipal activity of great importance,—that of giving an alarm of fire by an electrical contrivance,—that was undreamed of a century ago, unheard of fifty years ago, introduced within the past twenty-five years, and perfected within the past decade. Indeed the matter of extinguishing fires is a function only assumed within a comparatively recent period by our cities, and many still depend upon private enterprise and initiative for fire protection.

Most people assume that one of the prime duties of a municipality is the protection of life and property, and yet it has been only within the past few decades that there has been anything like adequate provision for protection from fire, and it has only been within a very few years that the practically instantaneous fire-alarm has been introduced. The introduction, however, has been so very rapid and so thorough that we have come, not unnaturally, to regard it not only as a necessity, but a long-established custom.

Playgrounds and the children's gardens may now almost be said to be an

essential adjunct of a properly-conducted school-system. Larger and smaller cities alike, have, within a few years, established them and each year sees the numbers increasing; and yet ten years ago such playgrounds were a rarity and children's gardens unheard of. The vacation-school has also become an established feature, and yet the first one was founded in Boston in 1885. The public-school system itself, now very properly regarded as a main bulwark of our American civilization, is less than a hundred years old.

Again, as a New Yorker in a recent conversation said: "Who would have thought, even twenty years ago, that American municipalities would be furnishing free musical entertainments to the townspeople? Any one a quarter of a century ago predicting that the public funds would be used to give free baths to urban residents, would have been laughed to scorn." Yet we see many cities having free baths as a regular institution, and public sentiment is not only favorable to the policy, but insistent upon its more rapid development.

This same observer hazarded the statement that not many decades would go by ere in most cities of the United States there would be found municipal bakeries, run by the municipal government, to supply bread to the people at cost. A municipal bakery is not so far a cry as some may think. I was reading only within the past few months in a British consular report of the work of the municipal bakery at Palermo, in Sicily.

In Palermo the flour-trade during the last few years has become centered in one private establishment; in fact it has become a monopoly. Both bread and macaroni, the staple food of the lower classes, had risen in price. This the municipality tried in vain to check by

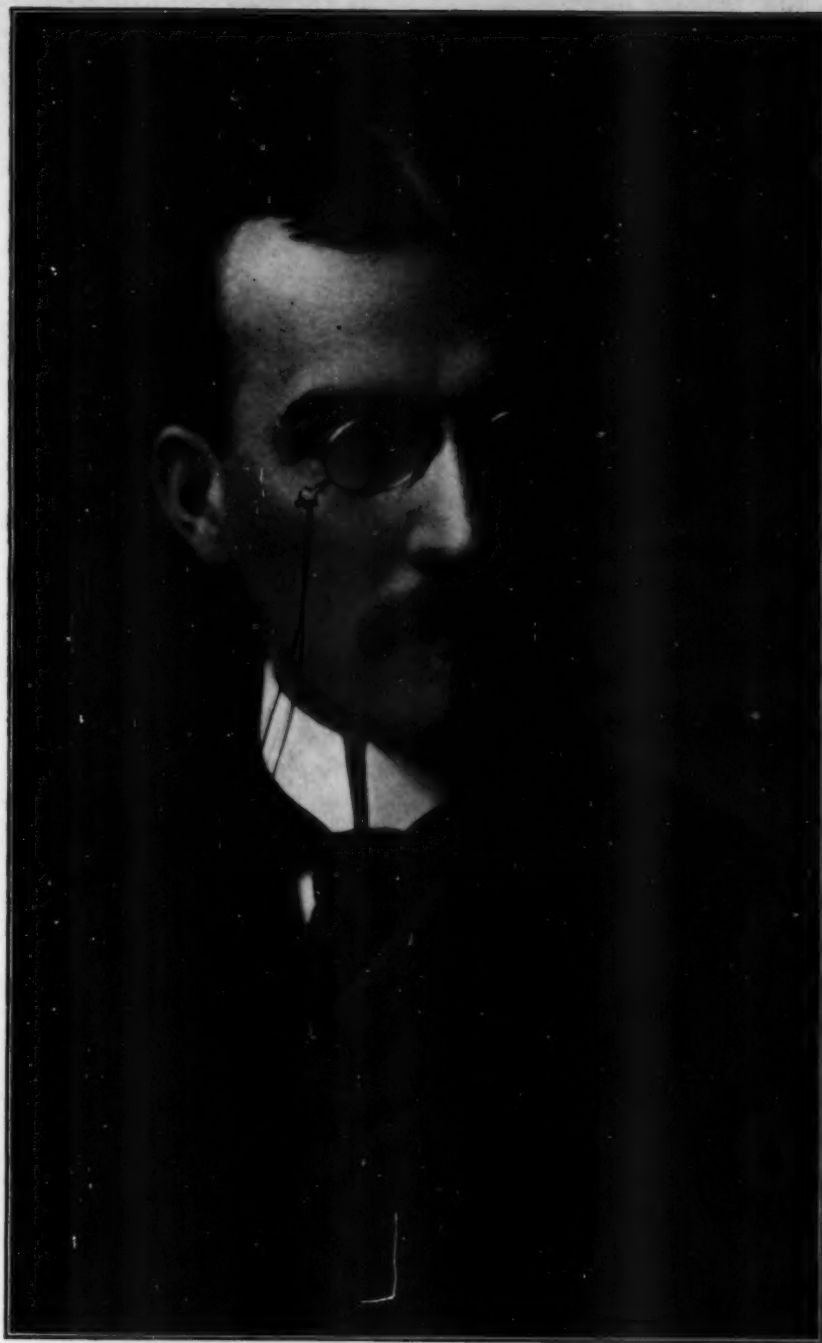


Photo. by Gutekunst, Philadelphia

CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF



fixing standard rates for both commodities. Anxious not to ruin the retailers, they struck directly at the monopolists by undertaking to supply flour to the bakers at a standard price and bread for them to sell on commission. They laid their plans in advance, collected corn from all parts of the island, and set up, not only a mill, but also a bakery of their own. The latter turned out about 20,000 pounds of bread daily; the military emergency ovens were soon added, and supplied 11,000 pounds more. Now the municipal bakeries place daily on the market 44,000 pounds of bread, or enough to supply one-sixth of a population of 325,000, which consumes not only 260,000 pounds of bread, but 110,000 pounds of macaroni. In this way the municipality has succeeded in lowering the price of bread a half-penny a pound, and in maintaining the standard rates which it considered fair to the public and to the trade. Moreover, it claims to have made a considerable profit, but on this point there is considerable difference of opinion, as the baking business has been run by officers whose salaries are paid, not out of the earnings, but out of the public purse.

The Palermo bakery was unquestionably an emergency institution, and may possibly be justified on that ground, but it has pointed a way and established a precedent which other communities may not be slow to follow.

Two or three years ago, during the scandals incident to the formation of the American Ice Company in New York City, the suggestion was made and urged with great persistence that an ice-plant should be established, among those so urging being the then Controller, Bird S. Coler. Nothing came of the suggestion at the time, but the arguments used are worthy of repetition, not only as indicating the feeling of the advocates of the plan, but as illustrating the ground assumed by those who believe that the municipality should use its power and authority, not only to promote the health and welfare of

the community, but to protect the people from extortion and iniquity.

The trend of the argument was that:

"The public health would be conserved thereby, because the people of the working-class need ice during the frightful days of heat and sultriness that come upon us every summer, and they could not afford to pay the prices demanded by the combination of natural and artificial ice-dealers.

"The fact that a very large part of the natural ice served in this city (New York) comes from the polluted waters of the Hudson, and contains disease germs that develop in human stomachs at times, was and is reason enough for supplanting it with a wholesome product that could be delivered at every house and at such a price as would bring it within the reach every day of the people of the tenements.

"As for the rest of the people, they also are entitled to deliverance from the extortion represented in a charge that has some times gone up to \$20 a ton for ice that cost less than a dollar to gather or manufacture; an extortion made possible because competition has been destroyed by the combination named."

The Mayor of Brockton, Mass., in 1901, advocated a municipal ice-plant for that city, and in 1899 Senator Young, of Kansas, introduced a bill authorizing second-class cities in that state to construct, maintain and operate ice-plants and public refrigerators; but nothing ever came of the bill or the suggestion.

It is but a step from municipal ice to municipal milk, and in 1900 the Rev. Charles F. Dole, of Boston, seriously urged that the city should supply pure milk at cost. In the same year Mr. Nathan Straus, of New York, advocated the city ownership of plants for sterilizing milk.

Municipal milk is not unknown in Great Britain. An editorial paragraph in the *New York Independent* of December 26, 1901, thus quotes the facts and argues the case:

"Now Battersea follows the example of Liverpool, St. Helens and York by undertaking the business of supplying sterilized milk to parents for the purpose of arresting the unnecessarily high infantile mortality. It is expected that the undertaking will result in a slight financial loss at first, but the rate-payers will be more than compensated by the knowledge that the expenditure has resulted in lowering the infant mortality. At St. Helens, where the experiment has already proved a success, a loss of \$400 was sustained the first year; but, on the other hand, the mortality of babies fed on corporation milk was 105 per 1,000, as against 187 per 1,000 among the children who were not so fed. In a certain sense this movement is not in the line of municipal socialism, but is essentially a sanitary measure and therefore naturally falls into that class of undertakings which may legitimately be run at a public loss. The problem of a good milk supply in this country also is getting to be a serious one. In our largest cities it is often dangerous to keep a baby in town during the hot weather, not so much on account of the heat as on account of the impossibility of getting milk that can be kept fresh. Any guaranty to the consumer that milk will be fresh and pure is certainly a reform for which to work, whether it be classed under the head of good sanitation or municipal socialism."

There is a tendency for advocates of an enlarged municipal activity to separate into two groups. On the one hand we have the avowed municipal socialists, and on the other those who believe that the municipality should interfere on moral or sanitary or humanitarian grounds, and the two arguments here reproduced show clearly how, what would formerly be considered extreme socialism, is defended, nay more, advocated, on sanitary and humanitarian grounds.

Municipal markets are not new, and municipal abattoirs are frequently to be found; but city stores are few and far

between. The late Mayor Jones, of Toledo, favored municipal lunch-stands in the parks, and Dr. Rainsford, of New York, has expressed his opinion that he has not the slightest doubt but that: "We shall have municipal restaurants here eventually. They are bound to come, and it would pay the city to have them. I am glad the matter has been revived, and would be willing to help along any agitation which may be started to get the city to take hold of the idea. Twelve years ago I brought the subject of municipal restaurants before the public, believing firmly that they would be both a boon to the people and a benefit to the city. I am of the same belief yet. I am as firmly convinced as that I am alive that they would be a paying speculation for the city, and as to the benefit they would be to a vast number of honest working-people who have small incomes, who would be then able to get wholesome, clean food at prices they could afford, there could be no possible question."

In this matter again European precedent can be quoted, Grenoble, France, supplying the illustration. The following statement is based on an official document:

"The service it has rendered during a period of years, some of which have been marked by dearness of supplies, has silenced the voices heard in opposition during the early stages of the enterprise, so that to-day, within and without the city of Grenoble, there exists unanimity both in recognizing and proclaiming the utility of this situation. There are nine buildings joined more or less to each other, and so arranged as to form a large central court. This court is tastefully decorated with flowers, adorned with statues and fountains, and furnished with tables for those who prefer to take their meals outside of the regular dining-hall. The eating-rooms are five in number, or if the open court is counted, six. There is an eating-room for the children of the school, situated on the floor above and not seen

by the ordinary visitor. A private arrangement also exists by which the assistants of the large Vaucanson college are served through another wicket at the great kitchen. This entire school, including teachers, is fed by the institution, and the service and accounts are kept apart.

"The visitor who desires his meals at the special tables first described, enters from the street through the vestibule, as in any public restaurant, and does not purchase metal checks at the wicket, but pays the waiter for his meals. The great mass of frequenters, however, pass through an entrance from the same street and purchase metal checks representing the dish or dishes desired. These checks are sold by the receiver, who stands in the ticket-office, the operation resembling that of buying tickets at a railroad station. The prices and quality of food called for by these checks are as follows: Soup, one quart, two cents; meat or fish, four and one-half ounces, four cents; plate of vegetables, two cents; wine, one-half pint, two cents; bread, four and two-thirds ounces, one cent; dessert, two cents. There are different varieties of soup, meat, vegetables, dessert, etc., which the patron specifies as he presents the checks at the wicket of the kitchen, whither he now proceeds on his way to one of the eating-rooms. According to a stringent rule, which has been constantly observed from the foundation of the restaurant, nothing but the purest articles are purchased. To ascertain the permanent, economic and social effects of the institution among produce and cattle-growers in the vicinity of Grenoble, farms at a considerable distance were visited and the farmers questioned. They unanimously reported that wherever the influence of the establishment is felt it is regarded as beneficial, not so much on account of the higher prices it may offer, as on account of its permanency and business integrity and the high moral standard that it sets.

"Although the original object in the

formation of this institution was to improve the condition of the working-people, who to this day are its most numerous customers, yet numbers of wealthy glove and silk-manufacturers, as well as clergymen and merchants, are constant in their practical patronage as well as their praise. There is a constant difficulty, not yet adverted to, which besets the coöperative kitchen as a municipal undertaking. It is the opposition it encounters from other restaurants, coffee-houses, saloons, and provision dealers of all kinds existing in this and the neighboring towns. It is due to a strong public opinion and support, as well as the vigorous foothold enjoyed by the institution. Although these people thus competed with succeed in turning opinion to some extent against it, on the other hand they are forced to sell purer articles, and at a lower profit, than those who traffic in the same goods in towns and cities where no such institution exists."

The argument for a municipal restaurant is not nearly so strong as for municipal milk and ice, nor does the emergency in Grenoble appear to have been such as to have afforded an excuse such as might be claimed in the case of the Palermo bakery.

Municipal farms are coming into vogue; in some instances to protect the water supply; in others to utilize the sewage and garbage; in still others to furnish needed supplies to city institutions. Pasadena, Cal., has a municipal farm which has yielded an annual profit of between \$4,000 and \$4,500 from English walnuts, and a good profit from the alfalfa crop. Moreover, it supports a large herd of swine. The farm was established as a dumping-place for the sewage of Pasadena. It performs this function thoroughly, and yields a handsome profit in addition.

The activities of the city in behalf of the comfort and welfare of the dependent classes have grown enormously in recent years. As James B. Reynolds, formerly secretary to Mayor Low, pointed out in

an address on the subject: "The municipality has experienced a complete change of attitude in regard to its duties to the dependent classes in the last ten years."

We see this in the first place in the recognition of the usefulness of the school-house as a center of advanced civic endeavor. The time was, and that not so very long ago, when it was open for five hours a day, five days a week, ten months in the year. Now in New York, for instance, thirty-two schools are open practically all the time, all the year around. In winter, for regular school-work, mothers' clubs, and meetings and entertainments of various kinds; in summer for manual training. Fifty-three schools are open all summer for gymnastic and recreation purposes. Many other schools are open in the mornings in summer for mothers with their babies, and in the afternoons and evenings for meetings and recreation purposes.

I wonder how many of us appreciate what all this means in the way of wholesome diversion and entertainment to people who have scarcely room enough for sleeping purposes and no money to take them to the parks or the cheapest resorts?

Then let us take the changed attitude of the city in regard to parks. The time was when a few of these in a distant part of the town sufficed. New York had her Central Park and Philadelphia had her Fairmount Park, but what mattered that to the families who had no carfare? Then even though the parks were within reach they were formal things to look upon, but not to use. Now the small parks are taken to the people and ample provision is made for free and wholesome use. Greater New York has one hundred and forty-seven such parks; Philadelphia, sixty-three.

What with recreation piers, band concerts and organ recitals, free lectures, vacation schools, municipal golf-courses and tennis-grounds, free excursions for the sick and ailing, our large communities

are availing themselves of the abundant opportunities that lie all about them to help the poor and dependent to make life tolerable and measurably enjoyable. Municipal theaters are increasing in number, but these hardly come within the same class as the activities we have just been considering, as they are erected for the general convenience of the community, to furnish good auditoriums and as a good investment. Only incidentally and occasionally do they serve to afford the means of amusement to those to whom the municipality, in the modern conception of its obligations, owes a special duty.

The city, however, has not stopped at affording wholesome recreation and amusement for its inhabitants. It has very properly begun a step further back. It has concerned itself with the housing of the poor. It has insisted, as in New York, that rooms in tenement-houses shall contain a certain number of cubic-feet of air-space for each person, and that they shall be properly ventilated and lighted and supplied with sanitary plumbing, and shall have a certain amount of area-space for fresh air and light. It has corrected abuses and sought to make a repetition of them difficult and dangerous to the owner, if not impossible. In some instances it has gone into tenement-house business itself, as in Chicago and Syracuse, thus making sure that the law is complied with and the poor classes given better housing facilities. In Great Britain, municipal lodging-houses are to be found in practically every important city.

Municipal laundries, as a necessary corollary of lodging-houses, are quite the vogue abroad and especially in Great Britain; but none has been established in this country so far as I am informed.

A municipal pawnshop has been opened in Chicago and a municipal employment bureau in Superior, Wisconsin, and in Toledo. Municipal coal and wood-yards have been strongly urged in Massachusetts, but thus far unsuccessfully.

A municipal grocery-store has been run

for some months at Kenosha, Wisconsin, under the management of one of the aldermen, for the benefit of dependents. A profit of \$2,000 was earned during the first six months.

Municipal hospitals are rapidly increasing in number. Municipal burial-grounds are an old-established institution, although known as potter's-fields. Mayor Quincy during his administration strongly urged the building of a municipal crematory, but Hull, England, has the credit of establishing the first one, which is now in successful operation.

According to recent consular reports, German cities now employ dentists who devote their whole time to their duties. As the report of Consul Liefeld pertinently remarks:

"That such a movement is necessary can scarcely be doubted when one learns that of many thousands of boys and girls examined, from the ages of 8 to 13, only 2 per cent. had a perfectly healthy set of teeth. To give an idea of the amount of work done in a year at Darmstadt schools it is necessary to quote the figures for 1903. During the year, 1,376 children were examined, and 1,561 teeth were filled, while 1,871 were extracted. In Strasburg 2,666 children were examined, 699 teeth were filled, and 2,912 were extracted.

"Another interesting fact is that 40 per cent. of all teeth examined were bad. The method of work is very simple; the teacher brings his class to the dentist, who examines each mouth quickly and marks on the card which each child has brought with it whether treatment is necessary. If so, the child must come again on a Saturday. Russia is also joining in the movement, and has already fitted up nine such institutions in St. Petersburg alone, while Moscow has several."

Municipal vaccine physicians are no new thing in America, and now our cities are going one step further in that they are furnishing nurses to the schools.

It is not necessary to refer at any length to the expansion of activities along the line of lighting, both by gas and electricity, and of water-supply. While in this matter of municipal monopolies, as in other directions, European cities have gone faster and further; American cities are a good second. In transportation matters, street-railroads, ferries and docks, our cities have not made nearly the same progress, nor in the matter of municipal telephones.

America could point for a while to a municipally-owned and conducted newspaper at Webster, Iowa, and can still point to a printing-plant at Boston. Cities are beginning to own and operate their street-paving, cleaning and sprinkling-plants and their own repair-shops. Philadelphia has established a department of supplies which has effected a saving of \$150,000 during the first year of its operation. Philadelphia has also gone into the insurance business. Premiums heretofore paid to private companies for insuring public buildings now go into a sinking-fund and the city will insure its own properties.

The municipal activities of American cities are numerous and varied. Prof. Parsons summed them up recently, declaring that the following-named subjects had been held to be proper public purposes and proper subjects of municipal ownership and control:

"Roads, bridges, sidewalks, sewers, ferries, markets, scales, wharves, canals, parks, baths, schools, libraries, museums, hospitals, lodging-houses, poor-houses, jails, cemeteries, prevention of fire, supply of water, gas, electricity, heat, power, transportation, telegraph and telephone service, clocks, skating-rinks, musical entertainments, exhibitions of fireworks, tobacco-warehouses, employment offices."

A remarkable list indeed! but the following list of additional municipal activities in Great Britain is still more remarkable:

Leamington and Harrowgate have Turkish baths, Liverpool has a municipal

organ with a salaried organist, and is preparing to erect the largest Hamman in Europe; Nottingham owns a castle, has also an university; Birmingham has one and Liverpool is about establishing one; Manchester owns shares in the ship-canal, Bristol owns her docks and harbors, and Liverpool and Bradford own hotels; Sheffield owns business premises and Glasgow a "Municipal Palace"; Torquay has a rabbit warren and Colchester an oyster-fishery, while Doncaster and Chester own race-tracks.

The growth of municipal activities has not been confined to Great Britain. Dr. Shaw has made us familiar with those of the continental countries, and since his books were re-issued there has been a considerable further growth. For instance, by a law passed in 1903, it is possible for municipalities in Italy to engage in the management of water-works, lighting companies, sewerage undertakings, street-railroads, sanitation, funerals, slaughter-houses, markets, night refuges for the indigent, omnibus lines, telephones, public baths, drug stores, mills, baking establishments, and almost every conceivable enterprise. The establishment of direct municipalization must be decided upon by a vote of the municipal council on two different occasions, with an interval of twenty days

between the decisions. These resolutions are submitted to all of the administration authorities, and finally to the people by means of a referendum. In case the majority-vote of the electors is against the project, it cannot be proposed again for the space of three years, unless one-fourth of the electors present a request for the re-proposing of the bill, when such a reconsideration may take place after an interval of one year.

And so goes the story of expansion and development which we do not fully realize and appreciate because we do not have time to pause and consider it; but whether we discuss the subject descriptively, as I have in this paper, or statistically, the result is the same. We are overwhelmed with the advance and the activity.

A hundred years ago (in 1800) Philadelphia, with a population of 70,287, spent \$68,485.92 or 97 cents an inhabitant. If the same rate had been maintained in 1899, when the population (in round numbers) was 1,250,000, the annual expenditure would have been \$1,212,500. As a matter of fact it was \$30,958,382.88, or \$27.78 a person. Is any further illustration needed to tell the story of the growth of municipal activities?

CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF.
Philadelphia, Pa.

PUBLIC CONTROL OF THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC IN SWEDEN AND NORWAY.

BY M. ALGER.

THE SYSTEM IN SWEDEN.

ON MARCH 31, 1864, a proposal was laid before the town council of Gothenburg in which attention was called to the fact that, "while the city of Gothenburg tended, in so many respects, to become the model of a well-regulated, free, and prosperous community," yet

one was "grieved to see one dark spot that marred a picture otherwise so bright and full of promise of a happy future, this being the existence in this city of a large class of paupers which, far from decreasing, seemed to be increasing in quite a threatening manner." It was, therefore, proposed that the town council should appoint a committee to inquire

into the real causes of pauperism in Gothenburg, and to propose such measures as seemed best calculated to mitigate this evil, unfortunately common to all communities.

A committee was accordingly appointed and reported in April, 1865.

In this report, the committee stated that, in the course of their investigations, they had "everywhere encountered *brännvin** as a very prominent cause of the present, morally as well as physically and economically deplorable, condition of a great portion of the lower classes of this community." And, they went on to say, although the abuse of liquor must not be put down to the "cravings of brutish sensuality" only, but might also be due to external causes, yet this abuse was so pernicious in its effects that a "community might well muster all its forces to conquer an enemy who was followed by poverty, distress, and crime." The committee held that drinking was not only one of the chief sources of poverty and distress, but that it was greatly encouraged by the existing methods of retailing intoxicants.

Innkeepers and publicans, who made a living by selling liquors, and paid a heavy fee to the authorities for their licenses, naturally had an obvious interest in obtaining as large a sale as possible for their own benefit. For this purpose it was a common practice among them to sell on credit, the consequence being that the workman, after settling his debt to the publican, had often nothing left of his weekly wages to supply his own wants and those of his family. Being refused credit, the drunkard had recourse to the pawnbroker, and many a workman took his most necessary articles of furniture to the publican, who thus not unfrequently made an unreasonable profit in the pawnbroker's business as well.

The Liquor Law of 1855 enacted that food should always be procurable at

every public-house, but many publicans openly evaded this provision of the law. In many places the eating-houses and refreshment-rooms for workmen had degenerated into vile dens, where vice was rife in dark, filthy, and unsanitary localities.

The committee, after thorough investigation concluded that the well-being of the community demanded that the whole system of retailing spirits should be re-modeled in conformity with the following programme:

1. That neither the advancers of capital, nor the publicans should derive any profit from the sale of spirits, all temptation on their part to push the consumption of intoxicants being thus done away with.
2. That the sale of spirits on credit or publicans acting as pawnbrokers should cease.
3. That the public-houses should be well-lighted and well-ventilated, spacious and cleanly.
4. That wholesome and well-cooked food should be supplied to the customers at moderate charges.

The committee also soon came to the conviction that these indispensable conditions for a better state of things could never be fulfilled unless the whole of the general liquor traffic were taken over by a *bolag* (company) formed by persons who undertook the enterprise, not for private personal gain, but for the good of the working-classes.

Thus, the committees had not only made a theoretical investigation, but they had proposed a practical scheme for improving the existing conditions. Almost at the same time that their report was handed in, notice was given to the Magistracy that about twenty of the leading firms and citizens of the town had united into a company, with the object of taking over, under the name of the *Göteborgs Utskänknings Aktiebolag*, the entire sale of intoxicants within the

* *Brännvin* is a native Swedish spirit, distilled from potatoes, rye or maize, usually colorless, but occasionally of a pale yellow color.

town, the company binding themselves to pay over to the town treasury the whole net profits to be used for certain public purposes and institutions specified by law.

After the bolag was formed, in the spring of 1865, it offered the town authorities to take over, to begin with, all the licenses that were to become vacant, according to the law then in force, on October first of that year, and it reserved to itself the right to take over also those that were to become vacant on October first of the following year, so as finally to place in the hands of the bolag all the licenses that the town authorities could dispose of by law.

The town authorities having granted this request, and the confirmation of the Governor of the Province (the representative of the Crown) having been obtained, the bolag, at the end of June, 1865, elected a Board of Directors who were to carry the new order of things into execution. This was done. Instructions and regulations were issued, tariffs fixed, premises rented, furniture purchased, managers of the drink-shops engaged, etc., and thus, during the first few days of October, 1865, the bolag was in a position to open seventeen new public-houses.

The system for selling spirits thus brought into existence is generally called, for shortness, the Gothenburg System, from the town in which it was first practically applied to any extent.

The system is based upon the fact that the manufacture and sale of spirits is permitted by the law, and it should be judged entirely from this point-of-view. Its immediate object, therefore, is not, and cannot be, to prevent or prohibit the consumption of intoxicants, but it is directed chiefly against the abuses of the liquor traffic. What the system aims at is partly to regulate this traffic, so as to deprive it of the inducement of private personal gain, with its desire for an increased consumption of spirits, and partly by strict control to see that the traffic is carried on in accordance with

the restrictive regulations laid down by the law.

The operations of the bolag are, therefore, in the first place of an administrative and controlling nature, its object being to enforce the following fundamental principles:

1. To prohibit the sale of intoxicants on credit.
2. To prohibit the sale of spirits to persons of tender years and inebriated persons.
3. To provide decent, well-lighted and well-ventilated, premises for the sale of spirits proportionate in size to the traffic.
4. To supply cooked food at moderate charges at the public-houses.

But the work of the bolag has another side of no less importance than the one already considered. Being allowed to issue regulations independent of the common legislation, the companies are in a position, within the limits laid down by the law, to regulate the liquor trade within the communes in the interest of morality, so as to render more severe or increase the restrictions of the law, according as the conditions of any particular place may require. By this means the communes have been enabled, in an indirect way, to grapple with the increasing consumption of spirits more effectively than ever before, and to mitigate the evil effects of drink.

In this respect, the endeavors of the bolag have mainly had for their object:

1. To make drink dearer.
2. To lower the percentage of alcohol.
3. To limit the quantity of spirits procurable by any one visitor at any one time.
4. To provide premises chiefly intended for eating-houses.
5. To raise the limit of age for young persons to whom spirits may not be supplied.
6. To shorten the time for keeping open the shops where spirits are sold for off-consumption.

7. To restrict the public-house traffic to certain hours in the day, and to turn the public-houses into eating-houses.

8. To supply good and cheap food to the working-classes.

In spite of the opposition it has encountered from various quarters, the System has fought its way triumphantly, and it is now adopted, although partly modified, in most towns in Sweden, and also in Norway and Finland.

Nor can any one who has really acquainted himself with the System and its objects, and who will judge these impartially, fail to recognize its superiority over every other method that has hitherto been tried for regulating the sale of intoxicants. And the harsh and unjust criticism of the System which may still be heard occasionally, not only from its opponents in principle, but from its sincere friends, is no doubt due in most cases to prejudice and to the inability to distinguish between the System and its objects, on the one hand, and the manner in which it has sometimes been applied, on the other. It should also be borne in mind that what is really a defect in the legislation now in force is not unfrequently put down to the System. As such must be designated the fact that the sale of intoxicating malt-liquors is practically free in this country; and so long as this defect in the legislation remains, no satisfactory result from the temperance work will ever be obtained.

At the present stage of legislation in this country, and under the existing social conditions, the System does its work creditably, even though, like everything human, it has its defects. No doubt, when it has fulfilled its mission, it will be replaced by other and more perfect organizations; but this should not prevent the philanthropist from gratefully acknowledging the great share it has had in the temperance movement of our times.

In 1868 there was a public-house (krog) for every 2,293 persons of the population.

In 1899 there was a public-house (krog) for every 8,158 persons.

In 1875 there was one shop for retailing brännvin for off-consumption for every 8,569 persons of the population.

Looking at the net profits, it will be seen that they have amounted, during this twenty-three years, to 16,282,360 kroner 90 öre (\$4,363,672.48), these figures representing the sum which instead of going into the pockets of the publican, has been used for the public benefit. Such portions of the above as have gone to the town have been appropriated to various institutions for the benefit of the liquor-consuming classes, such as the Slotsskogen Park, the Museum, the fund for providing free legal advice to the working-classes, the Board School-children's holiday-fund, reading-rooms for workmen, etc., the greatest part, however having been paid into the town treasury to be used for improving the police, the system for relieving the poor, and the hospital service.

In applying the Gothenburg System in Norway, it has been thought more advantageous to distribute these profits differently; however, at the Alcohol Congress held at Christiania in 1891, Mr. Berner stated that the difference was only a formal one, and that the proceeding was practically the same in both countries. It is significant of the decrease in the consumption of brännvin during the period in question that, while in 1876 the gross profits of the bolag were 13.84 kroner per head of the population, they had gone down to 9.65 kroner in 1898.

THE NUMBER, SITUATION AND CHARACTER OF THE PUBLIC-HOUSES.

The number of places where brännvin is sold for consumption on the premises has gone down from 27 in 1868 to 15 in 1900, although the population of Gothenburg has increased during the same period from 50,000 to 120,000 persons in round numbers.

The existing law provides that every

place where liquor is sold shall be situated openly in public streets, roads or squares, and, moreover, that premises used for public-house traffic, are kept in proper condition.

During the last few years, the aim of the bolag has been to lessen the number of small public-houses in favor of fewer and larger ones, situated in suitable districts of the town, by which means important advantages are gained chiefly with respect to an easier control of the visitors and the provision of large and up-to-date restaurants for the working-classes.

As regards the situation of these houses, the bolag, while avoiding those districts which are chiefly inhabited by working-people, is anxious to choose places that shall not lie near the great working-centers or in streets leading into them, or in market-places and public squares, such a situation, as it were, inviting the workman who passes by to a visit.

On the other hand, the premises must not be placed at too great a distance from the said centers, as experience shows that, if access to the public-house is rendered too difficult for the working-man, this will increase home drinking and induce him to purchase a larger supply of spirits than he would otherwise do, to be consumed out-of-doors in slums and back lanes, evils which no control whatever, be it ever so strict, can prevent, and which are far more pernicious in their consequences than drinking at the carefully-controlled public-house.

The public-houses, as a rule, consist of two departments: the "pub." department proper (*krogafdelningen*) and the so-called "better" department (*bättre afdelningen*), the latter being intended for those workmen who wish to partake of their refreshments more in private. In the matter of fittings, decoration, and furniture, the bolag has been particularly anxious to make its premises airy and comfortable, at the same time avoiding unnecessary luxury, as experience shows that the behavior of the visitors is greatly influenced by their surroundings.

HOURS OF SALE.

The existing law enacts that retailing shall take place on week-days only, from 8 A. M. to 7 P. M.

As regards the public-house traffic, the law enacts that it shall not begin earlier than 9 A. M. on week-days and generally cease at 10 P. M., and, further, that as a rule, no spirits shall be supplied on Sundays and Holy Days except to persons taking their meals at the public-houses.

By restricting these hours of sale from time to time, however, the bolag has endeavored to give a check to public-house drinking. Thus, it has enacted:

That all sale of brännvin, except as an appetizer with meals, shall cease at the bolag public-house for workmen at 6 P. M. on week-days during October to March, and at 7 P. M. during April to September, except on the eve of Sundays and Holy Days, when it shall cease at 6 P. M. throughout the year.

That the said public-houses shall be closed at 8 P. M. during October to March and at 9 P. M. during the other months.

That the said public-houses shall be closed on Sundays and Holy Days, except between 1 and 3 P. M., when brännvin may be supplied only as an appetizer with meals.

That on week-days between 12 and 2 the public-houses be turned into eating-houses, where brännvin may not be served otherwise than an appetizer with meals, if ordered.

The law prohibits such sale to persons under fifteen years, while the bolag has advanced the limit to eighteen years, thus excluding young persons from the public-houses three years longer than the law does.

Again, in the contracts made with the managers of the public-houses, the bolag has among others inserted a clause that expressly forbids these persons and their assistants from serving more than two drams to any one person each time he visits the public-house, and enjoins upon them to refuse more drink to persons who

ask for several drams successively to be consumed on the premises, or who repeat their visits with short intervals for the purpose of mere dram-drinking. The contracts also enjoin upon the managers and those in their employ carefully to see that no spirits are supplied to inebriated persons and persons of tender years. All these regulations are enforced so severely that offences against them generally result in a dismissal from the company's service.

PROVIDING PUBLIC-HOUSES MAINLY INTENDED FOR EATING PURPOSES.

The Swedish law provides that cooked food shall always be procurable at places where spirits are sold for consumption on the premises, which provision rests upon a philanthropic principle, science having proved that the alcoholic poison is less injurious to the human organism if taken with food.

In order that the public-houses may be converted more and more into restaurants for the working-classes, the bolag, as already stated, has decided that during the dinner-hour, between 12 and 2 P. M., all sale of brännvin shall cease at these places, except when taken as an appetizer with meals. Moreover, the bolag has opened eating-houses in different parts of the town, where cooked food is served throughout the day, and where brännvin is supplied, if ordered and at an extra charge, to persons taking their meals there, only one dram being allowed to each visitor. There are at present four houses of this class in Gothenburg.

When these houses were first opened, every visitor, as a rule, took his dram; now more than half the number of visitors take their meals without ordering brännvin.

The eating-houses are open on weekdays from 7.30 A. M. to 9 P. M. and on Sundays and Holy Days between 1 and 3 P. M. and 6.30 and 9 P. M.

At these places several kinds of wholesome and well-cooked food is served at cheap rates, meat, fish, and soups, to be

chosen from bills of fare posted up on the premises. In 1898, 370,424 portions of food were served at the eating-houses.

READING-ROOMS FOR WORKMEN.

Since 1883, the bolag has opened reading-rooms in different parts of the town which offer a refuge to the working-man or to any one who, wishing to avoid the public-house, but being in want of a home, does not know where to spend his leisure hours in the evening. At these places, coffee, tea, milk, chocolate, non-alcoholic drinks, sandwiches and other light refreshments are supplied, but neither beer nor spirits of any kind. They are also provided with a goodly selection of books and newspapers as well as materials for letter-writing. Young workmen, especially those excluded from the public-houses by the rules of the bolag, have found these reading-rooms to be an excellent substitute. As a matter of fact, the number of visitors to these rooms has been steadily increasing.

In May-December, 1883, it was 145,425; in the following year 198,780, and in 1897-98 no less than 314,309 in the city of Gothenburg.

At the same time the number of the reading-rooms has been increased from three to seven in that city.

Deducting the first four years, when the bolag had not yet the control of the entire sale, it will be seen that, with respect to the sale for consumption on the premises, *i. e.*, the sale of single drams, the quantity sold is less in 1898 than in 1870.

It remains then, an incontestable fact, that during the last quarter of a century the sale of spirits has gone down 50 per cent., it being now not above half of what it was twenty-five years ago; and, further, that the ordinary consumption per individual is about 10 liters a year, or rather less than one liter a month.

THE SYSTEM IN NORWAY.

It was in 1871 that the so-called Gothenburg System was introduced in Norway. More than thirty years have

passed since then; thus the time has come when the effects of the System may be defined with some exactness. The main feature of the Gothenburg System is, that each municipality is the owner of all rights to sell spirituous liquors within its jurisdiction. An exception is the few life-privileges held by private individuals, under special decisions of former days.

The spirit generally consumed usually contains from about 40 to 45 per cent. alcohol. Beer is calculated to contain $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., wine is reckoned to contain on an average of 10 per cent.

The average annual consumption of alcohol per inhabitant, at 100 per cent. alcohol (in spirits, beer and wine), is calculated at about 2.2 liters for recent years.

Norway, however, has not always taken up such a favorable position. During the years 1830-40, we find her ravaged by the "spirits plague," with its sad results, moral, economic and sanitary. It was then calculated that the consumption of spirits was more than 8 liters (at 100 per cent. alcohol) per head. By a law of 1816, any one was allowed to distill spirits from their own produce. This naturally resulted in an alarming increase in spirit-drinking. In the 'forties, legislation took energetic measures against this, supported by a no less energetic voluntary abstinence movement. The manufacture of spirits was only permitted when it was done by wholesale. At the present time there are only twenty-two distilleries, which together produce on an average of about 3,000,000 liters (at 100 per cent. alcohol), some of which is exported, while, however, about 1,000,000 liters (finer sorts) are generally imported from abroad. The wholesale and retail sale of spirits was also greatly restricted during the 'forties. The sale of spirits was made an exceptional means of subsistence. No one was allowed to retail spirits without a license from the local board and without giving up all other trade. The local board could actually forbid the retail sale of spirits within their

municipality by refusing licenses (local option). The sale of spirits was forbidden on Sundays and Holy Days, and on the afternoons preceding these. The sale of spirits to children and intoxicated persons was prohibited, and also at certain large, popular gatherings, etc. Severe penalties were inflicted for the unlawful sale of spirits. A heavy tax was laid both on the home production of spirits (with a corresponding duty on imported spirits) and on retail sale.

The consequences of this wise legislation were soon apparent. The number of bars decreased rapidly from 1,101 in 1847 to 640 in 1857, and a breaking-off of drinking habits and a consequent decrease in the consumption of spirits were perceptible, as well as an increased well-being and improved health. In Norway, the rural districts in particular were almost cleared of spirit-selling, which was concentrated in the towns. By a law of 1871, the local boards in the towns were allowed to make over their retail rights to philanthropic companies (*samlag*), which, instead of seeking to make the largest possible circle of customers, made it their aim to supervise and restrict the drinking of spirits, and whose net profits from the business should be devoted to "objects of public utility." In other words, it was the introduction of the system known as the "Gothenburg System," which is also in force in Finland.

The Norwegian system, however, differs in several points from the Swedish and Finnish, especially in the fact that the profits do not, as in the neighboring kingdom, go to the municipal funds. Norway thus does not tempt the municipalities to improve the state of their finances by a good trade in spirits. Finally, the spirit-trade, by a new law of July 27, 1894, was practically monopolized by these companies. All men and women over twenty-five years of age were allowed to decide by "ayes" and "noes," whether there should be any sale of spirits in their town for the next five years (vote of the people, or *referendum*).

In consequence of this, the sale of spirits has been prohibited of late years in a number of towns. Since 1871, the bars in Norwegian towns have been reduced in number from 501 to about 130, or about one to every 4,000 inhabitants. For the whole country there is now only one place for the sale of spirits to every 16,000 inhabitants. Since 1871-75, the consumption of spirits has decreased still further from 2.8 liters (at 100 per cent. alcohol) per head to 1.2 liters in 1896-98. At the same time, sums amounting to more than 20,000,000 kroner (\$5,360,000) have been distributed by the samlag to objects of public utility.

Legislation has also to some extent attempted to transfer the beer and wine trades into the hands of the samlag. The consumption of beer in 1896 was reckoned at 16.2 liters per head, and of wine about 2.5 liters per head. It follows in the nature of things, that the many millions of kroner saved annually in households by the reduced consumption of intoxicating liquors, have contributed greatly to raise the economic well-being of the people. Crime has also decreased. The number of deaths whose cause was assigned to drink during the years 1856-60 was 33 per 10,000, but since then it has decreased steadily, and for the years 1891-94 was only 10.5 per 10,000. The number of insane also, and suicides, as a result of drink, has been continually decreasing with the increasing sobriety.

This wise legislation and heavy taxation, whose purpose has rather been to raise the price of intoxicating liquors and thus restrict their use than to serve fiscal purposes, have been strongly supported by a voluntary abstinence movement, which has been especially active among the lower-classes. It has been said with reason that the Norwegian people have educated themselves to abstinence. The "Norwegian Total Abstinence Society" (*Det norske Total-Afholdsselskab*), founded in 1859, now numbers 1,020 associations with 129,259 members. Norway's Grand Lodge of the I. O. G. T. has 352

lodges, with 17,735 members, besides about 8,000 children. The Norwegian Good Templars Grand Lodge has about 4,200 members, the Norwegian Women's Total-Abstinence Society (*Norske Kvinders Total-Afholdsselskab*) 2,163 members, and the Blue Ribbon about 2,500.

The annual report for 1903 of the Christiania Samlag contains information which fairly well illustrates both the working of the company and the system.

The Christiania Samlag has been in existence for the last eighteen years.

The sales during that year amounted to 1,577,257 kroner (\$316,828), of which 1,182,194 kroner came from sales by the glass; the balance from sales by the bottle. Beer, wines and soda-water included in the above amounted to about 170,000 kroner. The total profit made was 215,218 kroner (\$58,150).

Taken by measure the amount of spirituous liquors sold was 396,000 liters, 389,250 quart bottles of beer and 300 bottles of wine.

The company are allowed to sell liquors in thirty different places in the city. Fourteen of these are in the company's own stores; while sixteen have been installed in hotels and restaurants. Besides from nine of the company's own stores, liquors have been sold by the bottle in thirty-two private stores, of which only two have a life-privilege, while the others have permits from the municipality. Each of these merchants selling liquors by the bottle has to pay an annual tax of \$2,680 to the samlag.

Beside the samlag, 317 persons have had rights to sell wines and beer, nine by life-privilege, the others under an annual license from the municipality.

From the company's retail stores 27,069 persons have been refused service, because of intoxication or because they were too young. The number of the latter was 872.

The sales of liquors in 1903 has decreased from what they were in 1902 by 20,955 liters, and the sales of beer by 46,745 quart bottles.

The sum available to distribute for philanthropic purposes of the year's profit was 158,652 kroner (\$42,518).

The principal donations were:

		About.
To the Poor of the City.....	23,000 kroner	\$6,210
" Children's Hospitals....	20,000 "	5,100
" Art-Industrial Museum	12,000 "	3,240
" Society for Prevention of Beggary.....	9,000 "	2,430
" House Mission.....	9,200 "	2,484
" Hospitals.....	9,500 "	2,585
" Vacation Trips for Poor School-children.....	6,000 "	1,620
" National Theater.....	8,000 "	2,160
" Home for Men Out of Work.....	5,000 "	1,350
" Workingmen's Academy	6,000 "	1,620
" Christiania Sailors' Home.....	5,000 "	1,350

To the Training School for Boys.....	4,500 kroner	About. \$1,215
" Different Temperance Societies.....	4,500 "	1,215
" Salvation Army.....	3,000 "	710
" Training Ship for Boys	2,000 "	540

The balance was all used for some kindred purposes, 1,800 kroner being contributed for music in public places.

During the years 1886-1903, the Christiania Samlag has contributed the sum of 4,662,445 kroner, or \$1,249,535, to institutions and for purposes as those above mentioned.

M. ALGER.

Christiania, Norway.

THE IMPURITY OF DIVORCE SUPPRESSION.

BY THEODORE SCHROEDER.*

AT THE present time many persons of pretentious respectability are agitating the public by their denunciation of divorce and divorcees. Many of these mistake vehemence of declaration for weight of logic, and rely more upon the vituperative denunciation of easy divorce as impure, than a rational discussion of the social utility of divorce suppression. Being possessed of but little worldly wisdom, these persons are mainly impelled to action by religious fanaticism.

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This appears from the fact that they support their position only by religious dogmas, never by arguments based upon practical observations of human life. Since persistence and vehemence in the denunciation of easy divorce is likely to increase the number of moral perverts, it becomes necessary to refresh our memory as to the genesis and consequences of the marriage ideals of these people with whom "purity" is a profession.

Modern opposition to second mar-

riage with great emphasis that polygamy was a special manifestation of the over-sexed condition which he held was a phase of emotionalism that usually accompanies intense religious enthusiasm. Mr. Schroeder has made a careful and exhaustive study of sex psychology, and his paper may be considered the work of one who is an expert on this subject. We append a list of the standard authorities which have been consulted in the preparation of this contribution.—B. O. FLOWER.]

History of Montanism. By Lee (of Oxford).
Women, Church and State. By Mrs. Gage.
Sex Worship. By Howard (and others).
History of European Morals. By Lecky.
Studies in the Psychology of Sex. By Havelock Ellis.
Psychopathia Sexualis. By Krafft-Ebing.
Fathers of the Desert.
History of Circumcision.

riages, if not the lineal descendant, is at least a collateral heir to the ideals of the insane desert hermits. The divinely imposed asceticism is the counterpart of the religious sensualism of the harem. Both are founded upon sexual hyperaesthetics.

Asceticism, though not a disease of Christian begetting, is one that found new support and associations in Christian environment. Historically, Christian asceticism had its beginning with Montanus, a prophet of the first or second century. His sect lasted about four hundred years, and its religious enthusiasm furnished the salacious foundation for both priestly celibacy and Mohammedan polygamy. As with other prophets, Montanus attracted those who left their husbands to become fellow prophetesses. He had the misfortune to be caught in *flagrante delicto* with one of the married sisters of his flock, and in consequence thereof some irate husbands relieved him of the sign of his virility. Montanus and his female co-laborers, in making a virtue of their misfortune, discovered the delights of spiritual affinities, and the saving grace of virginity. The added emotions engendered by their sex-suppression created a reservoir of religious enthusiasm seldom equaled in modern times. The unavoidable "virtue" of the emasculated prophet was eagerly adopted as an ideal by his faithful devotees, who perhaps considered this the most forcible rebuke of those who had sought to injure their God-like leader. In the course of time, as is usually the case in such circumstances, all the intensity of their religious frenzy, evolved mainly from their sexual abnormality, became an inseparable associate of the ascetic ideal, and thus created the epidemic erotophobia of the succeeding centuries.

As often has occurred, the delirium of man was accepted by the mob as the sign of the presence of God. Maniacal vehemence so impressed the multitude that many of the insane were sainted and their anti-natural ideals are even to this day given a verbal endorsement as examples

of purity by persons who are too healthy-minded to adopt them as rules of life. The ascetic nuns and monks esteemed the development of their sexual hyperaesthetics as an evidence of an increasing virtue. Their growing torment of passion and the consequent multiplication of their erotic hallucinations, were interpreted as Satan's increasing efforts at their seduction, made necessary in proportion to their augmenting power of virtuous resistance.

Those, who, through more healthy-mindedness and more natural living, were exempt from these aberrations, were denounced as already belonging to Satan and, therefore, left by him unttempted. So it is even now. Not to suffer from the unhealthy sex-sensitiveness of social purists, is to admit one's self to be already impure. While the more healthy-minded ones regretted their comparative sanity, the desert became well sprinkled with zealous maniacs seeking spiritual exaltation through sex-suppression and bodily macerations.

Under the influence of this disease all domestic virtues were denounced and denied. Husbands abandoned their wives, denounced their mothers, and were even willing to kill their own offspring lest the distracting influence of family ties might interfere with their souls' salvation. Loving wives and mothers, who made long pilgrimages to the desert in quest of the male fanatics who were related to them by the dearest ties, found their efforts to be vain.

Thus, St. Theodorus receives his abbot's permission to deny an interview to his mother and his sister. The mother of St. Marcus persuaded the abbot to command her son to go out to her. He went with his face disguised and his eyes shut. The mother did not recognize her son, nor the son see his mother. Under like circumstances, St. Prior interviewed his sister with closed eyes, for fear the sight of a woman might contaminate him. The deserted mother of St. Poemen and his six brothers found her way to their

retreat in the Egyptian desert. As she caught sight of them they ran to their cell and shut the door in her face. In vain did she exclaim: "I long to see you, my sons. What harm could it do you that I should see you? Am I not your mother? Did I not give you suck? I am an old and wrinkled woman, and my heart is troubled at the sound of your voices." The saintly brothers, however, refused to open the door, assuring their good mother outside that she would see them after death.

The mother of St. Simon Stylites, after twenty-seven years of separation, discovered the whereabouts of her "pure" and holy son, only to be denied admittance into his presence. Her entreaties and tears were mingled with bitter and eloquent reproach. "My son," she is reported to have said, "why have you done this? I bore you in my womb, and you have wrung my soul with grief. I gave you milk from my breast, you have filled my eyes with tears. For the kisses I gave you, you have given me the anguish of a broken heart; for all that I have done and suffered for you, you have repaid me by the most cruel wrongs." It was all in vain. The saintly son could not pollute his soul by allowing his eyes to rest on his loving mother, because she was a woman. After three days and nights of weeping and vain entreaties before the inhospitable door of the saint's cell, she from grief, age and privation, sank feebly to the ground and breathed her last. The saintly matricide now emerged from his cell, commended his dead mother's soul to heaven, and returned to his devotions. In the erotophobia of such unspeakable brutes was born and reared to respectability the social purist's conceptions of virtue.

To the insane monk and the modern ultra-social purist, all sex relation, *per se*, is immoral. Originally a first marriage was proclaimed an unavoidable evil, indulged in only by spiritual weaklings and those with lost souls, and a second one was but licensed adultery. Remar-

riage was more damning than a first, only because it was a second offence. Coitus was, *per se*, immoral, and could be relieved of its attendant curse, even within marriage, only when accompanied by a *bona fide* intention to procreate. Thus marriage was tolerated because it was "the thorny bush from which has come the rose, virginity."

This "asceticism with limited liability" is still popular among certain narrow purists. Its influence upon our President, who is always verbally strenuous, induced him to say that the "wilfully barren woman has no place in a sane, healthy and vigorous community." Obsessed by the necessity of finding an excuse for any sensual indulgence, he forgets that the deliberately barren woman may be doing far more toward the elevation of humanity, than is her sister, whose chief virtue lies in having added three or four to the population.

Even a first marriage, as a concession to evil, needed the authority of God's viceroy as a condition precedent to its toleration. This notion of marriage as a religious sacrament, had its origin in the Bacchanalian debauches of our Phallic-worshipping ancestors. Notwithstanding this, social purists call those impure who will not join them in this worship of Priapus.

Among many Christians, it was insisted that the ancient custom of priestly prelibation was an essential to the proper sanctification of marriage. This right became extinguished by two methods. On the one hand, with the ascendancy of the feudal lord it was transferred to him, and received legal protection in England as "gavelkind," by which the lord of the manor had the right of the first night with the bride of his bondsman. On the other hand, the priests, for a consideration in cash, waived their superior right to the bride. This was the immediate ancestor of our present custom of paying coin to have our marriages parsonized. The beginning no doubt is to be sought for in the sacred prostitution of the ancients or in their sensual mysteries.

These ancient barbarities and their modern "pure" descendants have strange counterparts which would be intensely ludicrous were they not so pathetic. It occurred that women in the interests of "purity" refused to kiss their own sons, or to touch any man. Some of the saints were so "pure" that they never viewed their own naked bodies. One was protected from such a direful possibility by being miraculously carried over a stream across which he was about to swim. Of course, such saints never bathed, nor put on renovated clothes, and announced that dirty bodies were essential to clean souls. The holy evangelist, St. John, Origen and his monks, and the thousands of other purists even now in Christian Russia, find "pure" relief from their excessive sex-torments only by self-emas-culation, by becoming "eunuchs for the Kingdom of Heaven's sake."

So sensitive to everything feminine were the monks of Athos that they accused the monks of a neighboring convent with falling away from grace, because they allowed hens to be kept within the convent enclosure. By the same extreme of sexual delicacy, a Roman senator was denounced for inadvertently kissing his wife in the presence of his daughter. Because of the great corruptive tendency of such open osculation to the rising generation, his name was stricken from the list of Patricians.

This pathological delicacy of sex has its counterpart in that Puritan Blue-Law, which made it a crime for a man to kiss his wife on Sunday, and in the present occasional purist outbreak against kissing in public places, such as parks and railroad stations.

Those polygamists, free-lovers, ascetics and by choice ultra-purists, who, by reason of conditions developing within the ego, are impelled to coerce others to adopt and, as a matter of duty, live their extreme ideals, are quite uniformly the victims of sexual hyperesthesia. It is this which destroys their perspective, and induces sex-overvaluation. The anom-

aly of the situation lies in the persistence with which the purist protests against the charges of sex-madness in himself. He does not know that erotophobia is as much a disease as erotomania.

He pretends that the marriage relation finds its warrant in things higher and holier than sex-functioning. Notwithstanding this, he insists that married persons, without endangering the marriage status, may violate all these undefined higher and holier relations, but a disregard of the monopoly of sex, the so-called lowest thing in marriage, is alone adequate to dissolve it, and invoke the imposition of additional penalties besides.

In the mind of practically all purists, adultery should be the only ground for absolute divorce. Notwithstanding their protestations to the contrary, this is the conclusive, though unconsciously given, testimony, that to the sex-mad purist, sex-life and sex-monopoly are the only things in marriage, the infringement of which, for that reason, is the sole destruction of marriage. In the light of this most practical test of their conception of sex-importance as the only thing creative or destructive of marriage, all their talk about the higher and holier than physical things associated with it, vanishes into thin air, as the hollow mockery of meaningless word-mumbling.

If marriage may legitimately include business partnership, intellectual companionship, or general good-fellowship and mutual helpfulness, why should not a failure to realize these be just as important in insuring divorce as sex-disappointment, especially when the rights of children can be properly protected, or when the union is childless? Why should the woman who finds herself married to an habitual drunkard, or abusive brute, have inflicted upon her as a life-sentence, a choice between submitting to his foul embraces, or living in enforced loneliness? Only the blissful irresponsibility of ignorance, or the cruel paternalism of fanatics could inflict such penalties. Of such

records has the history of fanaticism ever been made.

If anything in the natural sex-relation is impure, surely a compulsory continuance of a loveless marriage must be the extreme of that impurity. This, when submitted to for mere support, is the very essence of prostitution, even though done with priestly sanction.

To deny persons the right of re-marriage is but an indirect attempt at legalizing compulsory sex-suppression. The consequences, only thoughtless people will fail to foresee. It means increased sex-irregularity, usually with the countenancing of concubinage, and especially on the part of women sex-inversion and other perversions still too numerous. These are the impurities which social purists will promote by divorce suppression. What our equally impractical and only a trifle more barbarous ancestors failed to accomplish, by suture, by infibulation, and by their girdles and padlocks of chastity, the visionary purists of to-day hope to enforce by mere verbal denunciation or avoidable statutes.

The attempted living of anti-natural ideals, if long persevered in, will almost certainly result either in a breaking down of all social barriers, in a worse substitute, or in disease, which is the usual vengeance of outraged nature. Those who do not know this, should ask their physician to loan them a few books on the psychology of sex, foolishly excluded from public libraries. It is here, as with all other superstitions, those least in-

formed are usually the least modest about obtruding their ignorance into the lives of others.

The epithetic argument against easy divorce recommends itself to the mental indolence of professional reformers, and is more effective upon the hystericals than any scientific disquisition based only upon social utility. However, when the time comes that there is any real danger of our reverting to the ideals of the insane of the dark ages, the newly-born science of sex-psychology will bear some testimony upon the impurity of "purism," which will not be to the taste of either the professional or hystericals; but it will out. In the meantime, let us remember that people are not always as good as their boastings, and that the only excuse for any law is that it increases human happiness without unnecessarily curtailing human liberty, or infringing upon our equality of liberty.

That marriage-law is best which allows the greatest liberty consistent with equal liberty, and which affords just protection to each individual *directly* concerned and the state against pauper and degenerate offspring. Society in its collective capacity, cannot be harmed, and if all individuals are protected from harm, from injustice, the social order is perfectly preserved. So then, let us unite to defend the liberty of all to live natural and happy lives through easy divorce and the right of re-marriage.

THEODORE SCHROEDER.

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THE ARMOUR REFRIGERATOR-CAR CONSPIRACY EXPOSED; OR, A CRISIS IN INTERSTATE COMMERCE REGULATION.

By W. G. JOERNS.

THE AMERICAN nation chanches much. It is long suffering. Its nature is essentially empirical. It invites great crises. It is often confronted by extremes. It has, withal, been singularly fortunate in what it accomplishes and in what, in the finality, it manages to avoid. In every past great public peril it has at last gathered itself together and found a more or less satisfactory solution. It now looks forward with a hope that every good citizen sincerely prays may prove well-founded.

The present greatest menace to the permanency of our beneficent institutions is an economic one. It is found in the concentration of wealth and the methods by which this wealth is accumulated, grouped and controlled, and in the manner of its use. There is too much of "system" and modernized brigandage in the accumulation, too much of ruthless oppression and disregard of right in the use, and too little of the golden-rule in either.

The predatory spirit is not of recent development. The present generation did not witness the absolute beginning, but it has at times been a painfully interested witness of its growth. It has, however, now developed into a science, and its master-minds are found among the wealthiest and most influential in the land.

Among the more pronounced evils that have threatened public and private welfare, the one of railroad discrimination has been rightfully regarded as among the most pernicious and far-reaching. It was on a more favorable transportation rate than was accorded his rivals, the all-powerful rebate, that John D. Rockefeller founded and developed to perfection the monopoly of "Standard Oil."

To counteract the fatal tendency, which also bore hard on other lines of honest endeavor than the independent oil business, a great agitation resulted and culminated in the enactment by Congress of the Act of February 4, 1887, entitled an "Act to Regulate Commerce" and commonly known as the "Interstate Commerce Law."

This law was a wholesome step in the right direction. For ten years, and until unexpectedly shorn by United States Supreme Court decision of its most vital feature, it accomplished some substantial good. It has, nevertheless, in many important respects, been found woefully deficient. Honest intelligence and the official body constituted under the law have, almost since its inception, been clamoring at the doors of an unwilling Congress for vital amendments to the law, so that its purpose might be better effectuated and to that end the powers of the Commission increased. Since the unfortunate judicial interpretation in 1897 this demand has become imperative.

To the present national executive may properly be given the credit of not only re-vitalizing the Interstate Commerce Commission, which was fast sinking into a moribund condition, but of coercing Congress to additional pertinent legislation. This remained far from being all that was urgently required but is important, as far as it goes, and was evidently all that political exigency could wring from the law-making body.

The secret rebate, however, still flourishes and honest industry continues to pay the penalty even to its own annihilation. The always wrong and immoral and now unlawful act is not as promiscuous, it is true, and is more carefully concealed than in the halcyon days of

Standard Oil, but its devastating and nefarious work goes on.

So vast have the accumulations of capital become, so deviously interlocked, so great the incentives to mutuality in plunder, so varied the intricacies of the law's evasion, that supervision and control are becoming matters of seriously increasing difficulty. In other lands either the comparative insignificance of transportation interests or government-ownership and control have simplified the problem. With us it remains one of vital and fearful moment.

It is well understood that ownership of transportation facilities and excessive transportation charges, which of necessity bear hard only on the independent shipper, are in the main responsible for the monopoly, whole or proximate, in the coal and iron industries. Ownership of private-car lines, coupled with the almost contemptible subserviency, if not criminal connivance of transportation companies, is a newly disclosed and startling factor in the breeding of monopoly and special privilege.

Private-car lines have reinforced "Standard Oil" and created the packing-house monopoly, and, waxing greater with what it feeds on, this creation and strong right arm of latter-day business subtlety now threatens to engulf the fruit industry, the butter and egg business, the dairy interest, the poultry business, the fresh vegetable business, the brewing industry, in short every phase of industrial or commercial life that depends for transportation facilities upon the private-car lines of the country.

In each and every one a monopoly is threatened as exclusive and as oppressive as ever meat or coal monopoly was or could be. It has been estimated by competent authority that, unless the iniquity is checked, in five short years the people of this land will pay humble tribute for the most vital necessities of life to a small coterie of over-rich exploiters with the Armour and other private-car line interests in the forefront.

There are some 300 private-car lines in the country owning and operating about 130,000 private cars. Some are mere adjuncts to railroad interests for the understood purpose of unlawful discrimination. By far the larger number are small and insignificant and are rapidly becoming more so. They are being overshadowed, absorbed and replaced by a few great rivals. The refrigerator-car service, the oil-tank service, the live-stock car lines may be mentioned among the more prominent factors of unlawful and annihilating exploitation and favoritism.

The secret rebate is supposed theoretically to be dead for it is forbidden by the Interstate Commerce Law. Practically it flourishes in more deadly form than ever. Even the forms of the law are only partially complied with, the substance is constantly violated with shameful impunity. Discrimination to favored shippers and localities is practically of every day occurrence and the vitals of honest endeavor are being eaten away that monopoly may thrive and fatten.

Of what avail to publish rates and even to adhere to them as between competitors A, B and C, if A is the owner of a private-car line and B and C must lease his cars at an exorbitant rental, enough to absorb their legitimate profit, and thus recoup A as against his rivals B and C and give him a commanding and fatal advantage over them?

The Armour car-lines own or control about 12,000 private cars. Except on live-stock cars, where the rate is six mills or three-fifths of a cent, they receive from the railroads, over which their cars run, a mileage rate of three-quarter cents per mile each way for every car thus operated, be the same loaded or empty. They are also paid by the railroads in some cases and on some products a percentage on the regular freight rate which has been admitted to have reached as high as 12½ per cent.* The refrigerator rate is

*See testimony of Manager Robbins of the Armour line before the Interstate Commerce Commission.

assessed to the shipper as an additional charge and flows wholly into the pocket of the private-car company. As if this were not exploitation and discrimination enough, the Armours require from the railroad companies the return of their "empties" at express speed and demand various other concessions and privileges that place them at overpowering advantage over possible competitors. It is contrary to popular impression, it is true, to find great transportation companies on bended knee; but so controlling has the power of this monopoly become that, according to the recent testimony of Mr. J. W. Midgley, erstwhile commissioner of the Western Freight Association and a reputed authority, *no railroad dare refuse them*, but all yield abject compliance to every demand and wish.

Ordinarily all shipments are inspected as the cars are loaded. The railroads have established a special department for such purpose. If wholesale grocer A or commission merchant B orders a car for loading, an inspector follows it and it is loaded under his supervision. If he happens to be late in arriving and the car has meanwhile been loaded, whole or in part, to what extent he commits *hari kari* in "pawing" over the shipment is largely a matter of tact and good-will on his part. A more vital question, however, is, is this an impartial inspection and does it apply to all shippers alike? The answer unfortunately is: No! Discrimination also obtains here as in so many other respects. When the Armours for example, load their cars, the inspection is omitted. Chairman Becker of the Western Inspection Bureau has formally admitted that the railroads do not inspect Armour shipments but "take their books" as a guide. In other words, the Armour interests do in this, as in almost all other respects, as they please. They are subject to no inspection or control whatever.

In 1896, according to Mr. Midgley, the railroads essayed to reduce the mileage rebate on Standard Oil cars to five mills. A clash ensued. The Standard interest

rebelled and threatened to use its tonnage as a club. The railroads beat an ignominious retreat. As a sop to the railroad interests they were informed by the Standard Oil people that they might make any freight rate they saw fit on oil and its products. Divine authority! The railroads took advantage of the generous concession and raised the oil rate five cents per hundred. Any child out of the kindergarten can figure out who finally paid the bill. The mileage rate, however, remained three-quarters cents per mile, going and coming, as before.

What possible chance, pray, has the independent shipper under conditions like these? Yet year by year the private-car line evil is reaching more threatening proportions. Railroad after railroad is entering the private-car line net. Once enmeshed, the vast and annihilating power of the private interest, by virtue of the enormous and growing tonnage which it controls, makes the transportation company the servile instrument of the private monopoly evermore.

So slavishly subservient on the one hand and so wrapped up in the mutuality of the game of grab, on the other, have the railroad interest become, that they even bind themselves by secret contract* to do espionage duty on behalf of the private monopoly,—in the words of one of the contracts, a copy of which lies before me, "to instruct its agents to obtain by wire from the officers of the (railroad) such information as may be requested by the car-line's representatives." Think of it! Great public-service corporations, to which the government, presumably for the public good, has surrendered a portion of its sovereign power, doing spy-duty for the benefit of the private interest! If A, as a shipper, sells a car of apples or B, as a merchant, buys a car of potatoes, of dairy products, or meat, or oil, or what not, anywhere on the line of any road that has business

* See evidence before Interstate Commerce Commission.

relations with the Armours, the information is flashed to the private-car headquarters and used, shamefully and criminally misused, by the private-car company and its related interests to extend their monopoly and undermine the honest and competitive trade of the country.

Going still farther, the private-car line conquers and chains to its chariot, one after another, the transportation interests of the country. They must use no other private-cars but those that the great private-car line interests by contract designate or otherwise graciously permit. If even as great a road as the Illinois Central, for example, in designated territory, happens to run out of Armour refrigerator-cars and uses one of its own in place, it must nevertheless pay the mileage charge to Armour and act as the collecting agent for Armour of the usual exorbitant Armour refrigerator charge of \$45.00 per car, even though \$15.00 had theretofore been the Central's regular charge for similar service. As such collecting agent it must also be ruthless. It must threaten the credit of and boycott the shipper if he objects to be thus "held up," and refuse to answer every reasonable pertinent inquiry that may be made of it.* In other words, when the Armours enter into a contract relation with any railroad, to the extent of the traffic that their service can command the arrangement is exclusive. No other stock or refrigerator-cars but Armour's, except by special dispensation, can be hauled on that line. If offered, they must be rejected. If hauled, Armour must be paid as if the car had been his own. If evasion is wilfully persisted in, the heavy hand of the heavy and all-powerful shipper and controller of traffic extends the necessary pressure in no uncertain way.

The "straw that broke the camel's back" may be found in the exactions of the refrigerator-car service. These impositions have ever been offensive and have occasioned more or less suppressed

murmur and discontent. Active opposition, however, meant threatened business ruin, and caution and every consideration of immediate personal and family welfare, the circumlocution and uncertain effect of Interstate Commerce Commission activity and the all-too-prevalent inertia bade the shipper and commission-merchant "bear the ills, etc." It remained for a mild-mannered but keen and energetic Duluth merchant of Scotch descent and tenacity to take the initiative in the great struggle against the Refrigerator-Car Monopoly and "break the ice."

Mr. Midgley is making great efforts to pose as the "Moses" in the present movement to escape from the "House of Bondage," albeit he claims the backing of fifty millions of dollars for the formation of a great private-car trust. But not to Midgley, but to this young David of Duluth, Mr. E. M. Ferguson, is due the credit of initiating the investigation which has disclosed such enormities of fraud, robbery and exaction that the business world is startled and even the calloused transportation interests stand aghast and promise to make amends.

The refrigerator-car service has been preëminently a fruitful source of discrimination and the creation of monopoly. The three principal refrigerator lines; the Armour Car-Lines, the American Refrigerator Transit Company (Gould), and the Santa Fe Refrigerator Despatch Company, no matter what their professions of competitive struggle, are like "peas in a pod" and practically control the fruit business of the country.

Through auxiliary "distributing" and "shipping" companies the "Big Three" effectually monopolize the California fruit-market. It has been estimated that 75 per cent. in value of the California citrus crop is absorbed in the exorbitant freight and refrigerator charges. On a car-load shipment of grapes from California to Duluth, the freight charge, at \$1.25 per hundred, was \$312.50, while the Armour refrigerator charge was

*See testimony before Interstate Commerce Commission.

\$107.50 in addition. The refrigerator charge to New York would have been \$135.00. If the shipment had originated in Oregon or Washington and had been routed over the Northern Pacific or Great Northern (which, as yet, own and run their own refrigerator cars) the refrigerator charge to Duluth would have been only \$25.00, or an amount theoretically assumed as sufficient to cover and practically known to be in excess of the actual expenditure for "icing" and attendant service. The freight rate itself was exorbitant. On a shipment of onions or similar product the schedule rate, between the same points, was seventy-five cents per hundred and on green vegetables the rate was ninety cents. As the "distributing" and "shipping" monopoly controlled the fruit output, it is fair to presume that the excess rate was referable to that fact and that in one way or another the all-powerful private-interest became a participant in the excess freight charge.

The South, also is, paying heavy tribute to refrigerator-car lines. The average charge for refrigeration on strawberry shipments to Duluth amounts to \$75.00 per car or fifteen cents per crate of twenty-four quarts. This is more than the usual wholesaler's profit. The charge on similar shipments to Cincinnati, as a further example, in Armour cars is approximately \$45.00. Over roads that have not as yet surrendered to Armour the icing charge remains at the comparatively nominal amount of from \$10.00 to \$15.00 per car.

The Armour line obtained control of the refrigerator fruit shipments over the Pere Marquette road, in Michigan, in 1902 and the Michigan Central dropped into line the following year. In 1902, before the Michigan Central began to play handmaid to the Armours, the charge on a carload of grapes from Michigan to Duluth was \$98.70. Of this amount \$91.20 was for freight at thirty-eight cents per hundred and \$7.50 for icing. In the following year, after the refrigerator business over the Michigan

Central had passed into the exclusive control of Armour, the charge on a precisely similar shipment and with exactly the same service, was \$160.20. The freight rate had meanwhile been increased ten cents per hundred and amounted to \$115.20 and the Armour charge for icing was \$45.00. While the freight rate was thus raised from thirty-eight cents to forty-eight cents per hundred on shipments to Duluth, the Boston rate remained at seventy-nine cents, the prevailing rate for ten years past. Does any sensible man doubt for a moment that the additional freight charge, for which no justification whatever was shown, also eventually gravitated to the Armour pocket and was part and parcel of a system of exploitation and discrimination which, to date, has apparently been practiced with impunity?

Another instance of patent and bare-faced discrimination, through the agency of the private-car line, was developed in a complaint before the Interstate Commerce Commission against the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad Company and the New York, Chicago and St. Louis Railroad Company (4 I. C. C. Rep., 630). The facts in this case were, briefly stated, as follows: A New York firm of cattle-dealers, who, of course, were heavy shippers, by agreement with the railroad incorporated a private-car line (in their case called an "express company") and furnished the railroad from 200 to 400 stock-cars. For the use of these cars the railroad:

1. Paid a mileage rental of three-fourth cents per mile going and coming, loaded or empty.
2. Extended extraordinary facilities and rights of way in order to increase the mileage and did so in fact increase the mileage to twice the mileage of ordinary stock-cars.
3. Paid, without reimbursement, the loading charge of fifty cents a car at the cattle-yards in Chicago.
4. Paid yardage to the cattle-firm at

the rate of three and one-half cents per hundred pounds, for the use of the cattle-firm's own New York yards, after delivery, on not only its own but upon all other cattle shipped in such cars, and then deducted this yardage charge from the tariff rate as charged by the carrier against this favored shipper.

The amount of these unlawful rebates more than paid the entire cost of the stock-cars furnished, including operating expenses, within two years after the operations commenced.

What a commentary on the honest purpose and fair-dealing of transportation companies!

At an adjourned session of the Interstate Commerce Commission at Chicago, in October of last year, further evidence of unconscionable practices and grievous imposition was adduced and for the greater elucidation of the subject some extracts from those proceedings are submitted. The gravity of the situation and the necessity of a clear understanding are offered as a justification for the presentation in detail of this additional matter.

Mr. J. T. Marchand, attorney for the Interstate Commerce Commission, formally stated:

"The making of rates of transportation for packing-house products, for produce and for dairy products, is absolutely within the control of the companies owning the cars in which they compel the railroads to transport these commodities. The result is the creation of iron-clad monopolies and the enjoyment of fabulous profits to the self-made rate-makers. . . .

"Through their power to make transportation rates these private concerns are able to control the output of commodities they are manufacturing and therefore to control the price, which is usually excessive. The amounts which have been wrung from the people for the necessities of life are so enormous as to stagger the imagination."

Mr. John Leverone, a Cincinnati fruit-

merchant, testified that Armour & Company sold pineapples in Cincinnati at prices which could not be met by competitors *in order to coerce* produce-dealers into using Armour refrigerator cars. They not only charge fruit-shippers arbitrarily high prices for the use of iced cars (\$45.00 per car from Mobile as against the Illinois Central charge of \$11.30 from New Orleans for similar service), but through arrangement with lines like the Louisville and Nashville practically compelled consignees to use their cars. Then, having forced dealers to hold their goods at higher prices to cover the excessive transportation cost, the Armours make a practice of underselling in the market to a degree that debarred the ordinary dealer from permanently doing business in that line of goods.

Mr. B. G. Davis, a Chicago commission man, testified that an embargo was placed on his business by the Armours and he was practically forced out of business along some lines because he refused to pay exorbitant icing rates to the Armour Company.

Mr. George F. Mead, a Boston fruit-dealer and Vice-President of the National Association of Commission Men, stated that: "Armour & Company have practically demoralized the fruit business east of the Alleghanies. Not only do they charge extortionate prices for icing cars containing deciduous fruits, but they have undermined the market as well. For instance, they know through private sources (the debasing railroad espionage heretofore referred to in this article) that a car of fruit is to be shipped into Hartford on a certain day and, having, themselves, say two cars of the same fruit at Springfield, run one of them down to Hartford and when the car for the local commission man arrives he finds the market sold out from under him."

Mr. Mead might have added the alternative experience of having his car held arbitrarily back until his market was destroyed or by other unfair practice taken from him.

Mr. W. W. Summers, of Coyne Brothers, of South Water street, Chicago, testified that he refused to pay a refrigerator charge of \$45.00 on a car of melons shipped over the Illinois Central from Poseyville, Indiana, in an Illinois Central car, the usual charge of the Central having been \$15.00 for similar service. He was told by Mr. Bascom, the Assistant General Freight Agent of the road, that if he failed to pay the bill he would be taken off the credit list and his consignments would not thereafter be handled unless the charges were prepaid. The general attorney for Armour & Company, Mr. A. R. Urion, reiterated the same threat. These threats were carried out in fact, as Mr. Summers later learned from Michigan shippers. These parties informed Summers that they could not consign goods to him unless the charges were prepaid. Appeal to the agent of the Pere Marquette Railroad elicited the response that he, the agent, had his instructions from *Armour* and had to obey them.

Two Grand Rapids merchants, Reed and Vinkemulder by name, testified at the June hearing of the Commission in relation to the abuses of the Armour refrigerator service, from which, until 1903, they had been exempted. Before they left the court-room, they were approached by Superintendent Wolcott of the Armour Lines and he fairly hissed at them the threat in substantially the following words:

"You fellows had better staid in Grand Rapids than to come over here and tell your troubles to the Commission. We had you last year where we wanted you. Next year we'll give you the warm end of the stick."

It seems almost incredible that such brazen brutality could be flaunted under the very nose of the Commission. But these men, though frightened and intimidated, were brought back to the witness-stand and their testimony on the subject is a matter of record. Coercion and oppression by the private-car line

interest had become so common that even the underling was imbued with the lawless spirit of his master.

Mr. J. A. Donovan, Manager of the Missouri River Despatch, a Nebraska corporation operating 250 refrigerator cars, testified that his company received a rebate of 12½ per cent. on "net" rates from the Erie road as a "commission" in addition to the regular mileage of three-quarters cents, and Mr. S. E. Shane, Freight Traffic Manager of the Erie corroborated the statement and said that the "commission" was remuneration for icing cars and *soliciting traffic* and that the agreement was entered into merely to *increase the Erie's business*.

James S. Watson, of the defunct firm of Porter Brothers admitted that he realized probably fifty thousand dollars a year in rebates from the Fruit-Growers' Express Company, an Armour corporation, and J. Ogden Armour could not recall, until his memory was jogged, that he had loaned Watson \$400,000.

Mr. Charles A. Prouty, of the Interstate Commerce Commission, says:

"The conditions disclosed by this hearing show such shameful and burdensome imposition upon certain classes of large shippers that I do not see how the publicity given them can fail to incite Congress to take action in the way of remedial legislation."

So much for the evidence in hand, a very small portion of which, of course, has here been detailed. For every one who had been goaded to desperation or has had the inherent moral courage to testify there are scores of others who are already so abjectly in the power or under the influence of this Juggernaut of oppression that they no longer have the capacity of manly self-assertion. But for the "chosen few" the un-American game of immolation and oppression might have gone on indefinitely and unrebuked. The way of legal adjudication was assiduously avoided by the great selfish special interest. No suit for the

unlawful icing charge was ever brought against any shipper or consignee. Every method of intimidation and coercion, short of legal proceedings, was resorted to and, as we have seen, connived at by the railroad companies. If threat, boycott and unlawful and illegitimate competition failed to shake the determination of an unusually stubborn subject, that ended it. The private-car line pocketed the loss and went on with its nefarious work.

The power of the private-car line monopoly, unless the general government makes belated amends and steps in to stay its hand, has become almost irresistible. No transportation company so great but it must sooner or later succumb to its will and demand or join hands with it in the plunder of producer and consumer alike. No shipper or consignee so insignificant but he invites ruin if he dares to assert his manhood and stand on his lawful rights. No avenue of endeavor but, if and when it can be reached, it must be made to pay its tribute into the ever open and never satisfied maw of the most grasping and offensive of all monopolies. As Mr. Midgley succinctly put it: "These men constitute the most remorseless and arbitrary power in the world."

The shock of the summer hearing before the Interstate Commerce Commission induced a temporary retreat of the associated interests from the wholesale fruit and produce business; but the producer, as notably in California, remains at the mercy of sampling and shipping companies that are the same sordid purpose under another name. The grasping tentacles are ever reaching out, and exorbitant tribute, blind subserviency and ruinous exploitation are the inevitable result.

Is there no remedy for these patent and unconscionable abuses? There ought to be if we are to remain a free people. But what is the remedy?

The private-car lines say they are not amenable to the Interstate Commerce

Law and that they can pursue their exactions and discriminations *ad libitum*. It seems strange that a law which by its express terms, applies to "all the instrumentalities of shipment or carriage" and is admitted as reaching every interstate railroad in the land, should not also operate to control the private rolling-stock that in the pursuit of interstate commerce passes over the rails. The claim that the law does not apply seems offensively impudent and disingenuous. But the claim thus made is made for a purpose and carries with it the possibility of fatal delay. The Interstate Commerce Commission, in view of its deplorable limitations, cannot effectively cope with the evil, unless perchance the Elkins Bill may have provided a method of at least partial relief by injunction. The demand for immediate and complete relief is imperative. Non-action and delay can only mean the irrevocable entrenchment of monopoly.

Mr. Midgley proposes a huge private-car trust with the provisions of a more moderate and daily instead of mileage rental. On its face this might seem to work for partial relief, but, uncontrolled, it would also carry within itself the possibility of irreparable injury to the public welfare.

Short of government-ownership, there is but one safe way by which the threatened evils might be averted and that lies in the radical amendment of the Interstate Commerce Law. For years the best informed and best characterized in the land have demanded such amendments of the law and increased powers for the Commission and immediate sanction for its official acts. It is now demanded in addition that no loophole shall be left for the escape from supervision and control of the private-car lines or any other agency of interstate transportation. These demands have heretofore, except as the Elkins Law may prove of partial relief, been in vain. Railroad and corporation attorneys, in Congress and out, have exerted a potent

influence in overriding the will and welfare of the people and every effort for imperative relief has shattered on the rock of congressional inaction.

The time for action, however, has now come. The people will put up with subterfuge and evasion no longer. They are aroused. The recent official disclosure of transportation piracy has capped the climax and press and people have awakened to the enormity of the imposition, moral and financial, that private greed has imposed and that the country has endured and staggered under. Almost with one voice they demand relief. A great convention of the people of the honest business interests of the country, has recently been in session in St. Louis and this Interstate Commerce Convention adds its refrain to the clarion-call. Other conventions of outraged shippers and producers, representing hundreds of thousands of earnest and patriotic citizens and millions, yes billions of investment, are being called and held to add their protest to the swelling volume of indignation against private usurpation and transportation iniquity. This is in no sense a party question. It is no longer even a debatable question as

to present method. It has resolved itself simply into a question of integrity. It is inconceivable that Congress, no matter what its past delinquency, should again fail the people in their dire emergency.

There is a growing conviction that complete relief will never be obtained short of government-ownership; but government supervision and control may well be given a fair trial before resort is finally had to the more radical measure. If Congress, however, will persist in remaining deaf or blind to the vital demands and interests of the great body of the people, the "still more radical policy" referred to by the President in his recent message, is bound to follow.

Intense and growing interest centers on the transportation question and the psychological moment for action is rapidly approaching. To persist in ingoring present conservative demands means to sow the wind of popular indignation from which will be reaped the whirlwind of congressional upheaval. There will be an absence of familiar faces in the Halls of Congress when the test of being a *real* servant of the people is finally applied.

W. G. JOERNS.

Duluth, Minn.

MATTHEW ARNOLD AS A POET.

By H. W. PECK.

MATTHEW ARNOLD, the poet, in his ideals and character reminds us of the noble spirits of Plato, who, having once in a former existence caught a glimpse of the archetypal loveliness of Being, can never thereafter be reconciled to the ways of a sordid world. They wander through life in perplexity and sadness—

"Exiles mindful how the past was glad;
Angels in an alien planet born,"*

* "To a Gypsy Child by the Seashore."

and vainly endeavoring to recall the idea entire and with a sense of the futility of visualizing it for men. Yet the immaculate vision can never be forgotten.

"Ah! not the nectarous poppy lovers use,
Not daily labor's dull Lethæan spring,
Oblivion in lost angels can infuse
Of the soiled glory and the trailing wing."

So it is with the early poems of Arnold. They embody aspiration, doubt, despondency, and attempts at bravery even more pathetic than despair; the be-

wilderness and unrest of a doubting age. This predominant tone of discontent and perplexity was the product of the temperament of Arnold wrought upon by the influences of a transition age.

The old order was changing. Science and industry were arising upon the ruins of outworn intellectual and esthetic forms. Science seemed incompatible with the old faith and with what remained of the Hellenic ideal. This conflict of forces drove Huxley into agnosticism and caused Newman's reversion to Catholicism.

While Carlyle and Browning were attempting to reconstruct the spiritual forces of the age Arnold stood in doubt,

"Wandering between two worlds, one dead,
The other powerless to be born." *

This dissonance of forces destroyed his faith, his sense of the permanence of any good, and left him ineffably sad.

"The Sea of Faith
Was once, too, at the full, and round earth's shore
Lay like the folds of a bright girdle furled:
But now I only hear
Its melancholy long withdrawing roar,
Retreating, to the breath
Of the night wind, down the vast edges drear
And naked shingles of the world.
Ah, love, let us be true
To one another! for the world, which seems
To lie before us like a land of dreams,
So various, so beautiful, so new,
Hath really neither joy, nor love, nor light,
Nor certitude, nor peace, nor help for pain;
And we are here as on a darkling plain,
Swept with confused alarms of struggle and flight,
Where ignorant armies clash by night." †

A writer in the *Edinburgh Review* of October, 1888, characterizes in the following way three distinct epochs in Arnold's mental progress:

"In the first he expresses the unrest, the bewilderment, the perplexity of a doubting age; in the second he has adopted paganism as his model of artistic composition and his moral rule of life; in the third his esthetic and moral stoicism is leavened by that Hebrew

element which he affected to despise and strove prematurely to suppress."

The first period of Arnold's poetic life was especially sad. This was probably due, in part, to his temperament. Sensitive and delicate, it lacked the surmounting energy of Browning or Carlyle. And then he was placed in circumstances unsuited to his nature, and the result was the note of pain and melancholy that pervades all his verse.

"In the rude world which roars hardly
Be others happy if they can!
But in my helpless cradle I
Was breathed on by the rural Pan.
I, on men's impious uproar hurled,
Think often as I hear them rave,
That peace has left the upper world
And now keeps only in the grave." ‡

Another reason for Arnold's sadness was his idealism. He was implacable in his demand for the highest in our nature. A compromise with the ideal was as impossible to him as to Shelley. He could not be disobedient to the heavenly vision. This ruthless aspiration for the ideal, for perfection, he expressed with beauty and pathos in "Longing."

"Come to me in my dreams, and then
By day I shall be well again;
For then the night will more than pay
The hopeless longing of the day." §

Arnold's desire was for love, joy and peace; to be freed from that state,

"Where just men suffer wrong;
Where sorrow treads on joy,
Where sweet things soonest cloy,
Where faiths are built on dust,
Where love is half mistrust." ¶

and to witness the time

"When bursting through the net work superposed
By selfish occupation—plot and plan,
Lust, avarice, envy—liberated man,
All difference with his fellow mortal closed,
Shall be left standing face to face with God." ||

Arnold longed for a state of abiding tranquility where the harsh and arbitrary standards of men should be done away;

† "Lines Written in Kensington Gardens."
‡ "Stagirus."
§ "To a Republican Friend."

* "Grand Chartreuse."

† "Dover Beach."

where real worth should be known and the gentle spirit rightly appreciated.

"We shall not then deny a course
To every thought the mass ignore.
We shall not then call hardness force,
Nor lightness wisdom any more.
How sweet to feel on the boon air,
All our unquiet pulses cease!
To feel that nothing can impair
The gentleness, the thirst for peace."*

A primal source of Arnold's melancholy was the belief that we can never attain lasting happiness, abiding peace and joy.

"We but dream we have our wish'd for powers,
Ends we seek we never shall attain.
Ah! some power exists there, which is ours;
Some end is there, we indeed may gain."

To use Pater's characterization of Coleridge, Arnold was seeking to apprehend the absolute; to find something constant amid the perpetual flux. Life seemed to him an endless conflict. His desire would always exceed his attainment and the discrepancy would be an endless source of regret. He did not, like Browning, exult that a man's reach exceeded his grasp; that this very fact was a guarantee of infinite growth on into the endless ages.

In this Arnold seems to have touched the crucial point in the question whether life is worth the effort and pain or whether it is a tragedy. If the margin of the land of our desire fades forever and forever as we move, then the land of Heart's Desire is but a glimpse of the unattainable and life is but a watch or a vision.

It may be but a means, an opportunity to give our force its bent; but if sometime, somewhere, we cannot reach the goal of our striving, then what does it profit? If we cannot ultimately attain to something that has an intrinsic value in itself, then all our effort seems vain.

Upon this question of ultimate attainment Arnold fluctuated. If it were certain, endurance would be a virtue.

"But now in blood and battles was my youth,
And full of blood and battles is my age,

* "A Farewell in Switzerland."

And I shall never end this life of blood.
Then at the point of death, Sohrab replied—
'A life of blood-indeed thou dreadful man!
But thou shalt yet have peace: only not now,
Not yet! but thou shalt have it on that day,
When thou shalt sail in a high masted ship,
Thou and the other peers of Kai Khosroo,
Returning home over the salt blue sea,
From laying thy dear master in his grave.'
And Rustum gazed in Sohrab's face, and said:—
'Soon be that day, my son, and deep that sea!
Till then, if fate so wills, let me endure.'†

Notwithstanding the force of Arnold's desire to attain to a spiritual ideal, he saw no way to its fulfillment. The strange disease of modern life, with its sick hurry, its divided aims, had infected him, and the only hope he could hold out was patience and resignation. In his early years, at least, he lacked the "one aim, one business, one desire"; the concentration of vision that makes the man of action.

"Thou waitest for the spark from Heaven! and we
Light half believers in our casual creeds,
Who never deeply felt, and clearly willed,
Whose insight never has borne fruits in deeds,
Whose vague resolves have never been fulfill'd,
For whom each year we see
Brings new beginnings, disappointments new;
Who hesitates and falter life away,
And lose to-morrow the ground won to-day;
Ah! do not we, wanderer, await it too?"‡

This chaotic state of mind eventually was resolved into more definite shape and Arnold accepted the ideals of Paganism as the model for life. He adopted the stoicism of Marcus Aurelius as a standard of moral conduct. Feeling bounded by the laws of necessity, and thinking that many of the forces that make our mar life are inexplicable, he left much to fate, and, in the spirit of Sophocles, sought quiet submission to the will of the Gods.

"Some are born to do great deeds and live,
And some are born to be obscured and die."†

Even isolation and loneliness were ascribed to some deity.

"A God! a God! their severance ruled
And bade betwixt their shores to be
The unplumbed, salt, estranging sea."‡

† "Sohrab and Rustum."
‡ "The Scholar Gypsy."
§ "Isolation."

In the poem "To a Friend" he praises Homer, Epictetus and Sophocles as props for his mind in these bad days. From Marcus Aurelius he learned much of his stoic doctrine.

"The aids to noble life are all within." *

In "Self-Defendence" this doctrine is clearly formulated. He would imitate the calm of nature; the improbability of the stars and the sea.

"Unafrighted by the silence round them,
Undistracted by the sights they see,
These demand not that the things without them
Yield them love, amusement, sympathy.
And with joy the stars perform their shining,
And the sea its long moon-silver'd roll;
For self-poised they live, nor pine with noting
All the fever of some differing soul.
Bounded by themselves and unregardful
In what state God's other works may be,
In their own tasks all their powers pouring,
There attain the mighty life we see.
O air-born voice! long since severely clear,
A cry like thine in mine own heart I hear:
Resolve to be thyself; and know that he,
Who finds himself, loses his misery." *

From Emerson, Arnold gained much inspiration. He even became rapt for a moment by the influence of that "voice oracular."

"The seeds of godlike power are in us still;
Gods are we, bards, saints, heroes, if we will;
Dumb judges, answer, truth or mockery?" †

He also derived from Emerson the belief that "the only revelation is that prompting which every individual receives."

"Nature's great law and law of all men's minds;—
To its own impulse every creature stirs;
Live by the light, and earth will live by hers!" ‡

From Wordsworth and Goethe also he derived his ideas of isolation and self-culture that fused with his stoic philosophy.

Yet this ideal was cold, self-centered and required the subversion of the feelings to the intellect. Arnold was never satisfied with his own doctrine. Patience was at best a negative virtue and stoicism

meant the drying of the springs of warm and generous emotion.

"This for our wisest, and we others pine,
And wish the long unhappy dream would end,
And waive all claims to bliss and try to bear;
With close lipp'd patience for our only friend,
Sad patience, too near neighbor to despair—" §

And again:

"Is the calm thine of stoic souls, who weigh
Life well, and find it wanting, nor deplore;
But in disdainful silence turned away,
Stand mute, self-centred, stern, and dream no
more?" ||

Once in "Morality" we find an expression of that sense of social responsibility which characterized his active life as an educator.

"We cannot kindle when we will
The fire which in the heart resides;
The spirit bloweth and is still;
In mystery our soul abides.
But tasks in hours of insight will'd
Can be through hours of gloom fulfilled." ¶

Arnold's relations to Christianity and and modern science are closely interwoven. The faith in past dogma had broken down, and evolution revealed a system which in its brutality and indifference to the individual, was a denial of a loving father. Men had not been able to reconcile science and faith, and Arnold, as has been said, found the only solace in resignation. In the poem "Stagirius" he calls upon the young monk to show his faith in Christianity by its works, and shows that man is still contentious, blind and unloving. The spirit of Christianity itself was not manifested in the church.

"Wisdom and goodness, they are God!—what
schools
Have yet so much as heard this simple lore?
This no Saint preacher, and this no church rules,
'T is in the desert, now and heretofore." **

In "Progress" he declares that to "think clear, feel deep, bear fruit well" is the test of a creed's worth, and so does

* "Worldly Place."

† "Written in Emerson's Essays."

‡ "Religious Isolation."

§ "Scholar Gypsy."

|| "To a Gypsy Child by the Seashore."

¶ "Morality."

** "The Divinity."

not exalt the Christian teaching over the tenets of the sires.

Lastly, in "Obermann Once More" Arnold begins to show complaisance toward the faith he tolerated in others but could never accept. Arnold's views, either of religion or nature, were not always consistent with each other.

This was due; perhaps, to the influences to which he, as a scholar, was susceptible. He did not, like Wordsworth and Keats, develop a view of life which was based solely upon his own experience and was wholly subjective in nature. He drew his inspiration and beliefs from various sources,—Marcus Aurelius, Sophocles, Emerson, and other great teachers, and so was liable to changes and contradictions. In the last poem mentioned he almost came to belief.

"Oh, had I lived in that great day,
How had its glory new
Fill'd earth and heaven, and caught away
My ravished spirit too.
No thoughts that to the world belong
Had stood against the wave
That set so deep and strong
From Christ's then open grave."

But the perplexing doubts return.

"The millions suffer still, and grieve,
And what can helpers heal
With old-world cures men half believe
For woes they wholly feel."

The poem ends again in a more hopeful strain:

"One common wave of thought and joy
Lifting mankind again!"

—a prelude to the time when the surging doubts should subside, and Matthew Arnold, the prose writer and critic, the apostle of culture, and sweetness and light, should devote himself through many active years to the cause of education.

Arnold, though an admirer of Wordsworth, did not share his attitude toward nature. His affinities lay with Coleridge. Nature was but an imperfect reflex of the beautiful vision in the poet's soul.

"Fools that these mystics are
Who prate of nature! for she
Has neither beauty, nor warmth,
Nor life, nor emotion, nor power.
But man has a thousand gifts,
And the generous dreamer invests
The senseless world with them all.
Nature is nothing; her charm
Lives in our eyes that can paint,
Lives in our hearts that can feel."

The poem "In Harmony with Nature" reveals an attitude toward the new world of science like that which troubled the mind of Tennyson.

"In harmony with Nature; restless fool,
Who with such heat dost preach what were to thee,
When true, the last impossibility—
To be like Nature strong, like Nature cool!
Know, man hath all which Nature hath, but more,
And in that more lie all his hopes of good.
Nature is cruel, man is sick of blood;
Nature is stubborn, man would fain adore;
Nature is fickle, man hath need of rest;
Nature forgives no debt, and fears no grave;
Man would be mild, and with safe conscience
blest."

In the exquisite poem "Resignation" Arnold shows the total lack of that soul-stimulus which nature brought so freely to Wordsworth. To Wordsworth nature was the benign, clement mother, the inspiring teacher, the giver of peace and joy, the soul of his moral being. Arnold can find in her only counsels of endurance.

"Enough, we live!—and if a life,
With large results so little rife,
Though bearable, seem hardly worth
This pomp of worlds, this pain of birth.
Yet, Fausta, the mute turf we tread,
The solemn hills around us spread,
This stream which falls incessantly,
The strange scrawled rocks, the lonely sky,
If I might lend their life a voice,
Seem to bear rather than rejoice."

Having thus indicated, in a general way, the character of Arnold's spiritual outlook, reference should be made to the form and intrinsic value of his poetry. He held the theory that "classical objectivity is the ideal of modern verse," and under these views composed his "unrhymed lyrics, a species of verse which though capable of great force and beauty is often hopelessly prose like."

In his ideal of classicism he cultivated restraint and so his verse is massive, con-

centrated and pregnant with force or meaning.

The first poem of Arnold, "The Strange Reveller," was of this type. It introduces into English a verse form similar to a translation of choric songs in the Greek drama.

"Faster, faster
O Circe, Goddess,
Let the wild thronging train,
The bright procession
Of eddying forms
Sweep through my soul."

Purely Homeric are the epithets employed when he refers to the

"Foamless, long-heaving,
Violet sea."

"Sohrab and Rustum" also reminds one of Homer in its objectivity and high quality as an epic. But the masterpiece of Arnold's poems that are essentially classic in structure is "Philomel." It is unique in the English language and perhaps even ranks above Shelley's "Skylark" and Keats' "Ode to a Nightingale." It lacks the exquisite cadence of both of the former but makes up in power and concentration.

While Arnold has achieved marked success in the imitation of classic models, I think that he has accomplished what would be difficult for most poets of genius. His poetry lacks the lyrical cadence of Keats and Coleridge, and their luxuriance and profuseness of imagery. Though he succeeded in imitating classic models, the value of establishing an objective standard for lyric poetry seems dubious. While restraint is a virtue of the drama, and the more serious branches of art whose office is to impose form upon life, it is of doubtful propriety in the lyric. Poetry should be, to some extent at least, "the spontaneous overflow of powerful emotions," and only on this basis can the lyric poet appeal to the universal heart of mankind. If he believes in art for art's sake; if his aim is to please a limited coterie of dilettante, then he is justified. But if he believes that art is an expression of the richness of personal life and should go

again to enrich the life of that great stream of humanity about him, then Arnold, in theory at least, is too limited to pose as that supremely wise man, who, according to Plato, is to be our final judge in all matters. Doubtless to most of us the idea of a restrained nightingale will always remain something of a paradox.

But Arnold's poetry was not always strictly in accordance with his theory. Much of it has strong human interest as well as classic charm. "Parting," "Separation" and "Requiescat" express tender pathos and lyrical beauty.

"Strew on her roses, roses,
And never a spray of yew;
In quiet she reposes;
Ah, would that I did too."

In "Lines written in Kensington Gardens" Arnold almost approaches Wordsworth.

"Calm soul of all things! make it mine
To feel amid the cities' jar
That there abides a peace of thine
Man did not make and cannot mar."

As to Arnold's achievement. In the earlier years of doubt and unrest he accomplished little except to voice the uncertainty of a transitive age. As one writer has remarked: "A man who owns to having lost his way is not likely to be chosen as a guide by others." But when Arnold definitely accepted the ideals of paganism in art and morality he became a power of the time. He stood out resolutely for the life of the spirit in an age of machinery and complacent materialism. His opposition to Christianity doubtless modified it and brought emphasis upon certain phases that were in danger of being ignored. He opposed the formality of creeds and rituals, caused more emphasis to be placed upon the influence of good working upon the lives of men, and emphasized the application of Christ's saying that "the Kingdom of God is within you."

Though his poetry to the end brought the eternal note of sadness in, and though

he never achieved the peace he so persistently sought, the note of hope rose more frequently in his verse to relieve its strain of haunting sadness.

While he was always restless in his search for truth, he came to believe that the best solution of the problem of life lay in "unselfish activity for the good of

mankind." This growing sentiment of his later verses he actively expressed in his work as an educator, critic and reformer when he put into practice his theory that to "think clear, feel deep and bear fruit well" is what the friend of man desires.

H. W. PECK.

Oberlin, O.

THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR.

THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR FROM A PRO-RUSSIAN VIEW-POINT.

BY JUDGE EDWARD CAMPBELL.

IF THE larger section of the American press is at the present time a true index of American sentiment on the subject of the present war between Japan and Russia, then American public sentiment and the voice of America as heard in the councils of civilized nations are at variance.

On the third day of December, 1900, America declared to all the world that "The policy of the United States in dealing with the situation in China, is, to preserve Chinese territorial and administrative entity, and to protect for the world the principle of equal and impartial trade with all parts of the Chinese Empire." (President McKinley's Message to the second session of the United States Fifty-sixth Congress.)

Looking to the American press for some indication of American sentiment on the subject, Professor Maxey of the University of West Virginia, a recognized authority in such matters, has apparently convinced himself that in the dealings with each other, of almost the entire world of nations, during the last ten years, Japan has suffered at the hands of enlightened Christendom some grievous national injury which now entitles her to the deepest sympathy of all civilized people.

Speaking of "The Diplomatic History

of the Russo-Japanese War," in THE ARENA of November, 1904, page 485, the Professor (the italics are mine) says: "In our previous article, reference was made to one of the main facts (that is, main causes of the war), viz., the duplicity of Russia in forming a coalition to rob Japan of 'a certain piece or parcel of land,' under the insincere pretension of a desire to preserve the 'integrity of the Chinese Empire.' If there is any wrong which is more difficult to forgive or forget than others, it is that of having been robbed of a piece of land; and to aggravate the *crime* (and hence the Japanese feeling of resentment) the use of the *plunder* was such as to convince Japan, or *anybody else*, that Russia was acting in bad faith; that instead of championing the cause of decadent China from purely benevolent motives, she was availing herself of the weakness of China to further her own schemes for self-aggrandizement."

Professor Maxey, being in no governmental or representative position, must of course be considered as expressing here the intelligent private citizen's view of the situation—and the sound of his trumpet chords well with the symphony of numerous American journals.

The "coalition," formed of nations, as the Professor says, by the "duplicity of

Russia, to rob Japan of a certain piece or parcel of land," can be nothing else than the unanimous and still-continuing public consent and approbation of the Western powers in 1894-5, to the diplomatic intimation then delivered by Russia, Germany and France, to Japan, to the effect, as President McKinley phrases the statement in his message to Congress, quoted above, that "Chinese territorial and administrative entity *must be preserved*," and therefore that Japan must abrogate her Shimonoseki treaty of April 16, 1895, with China, whereby China had *ceded* to her in fee simple the whole of Korea and the lower part of Manchuria, including Port Arthur and China's entire Pacific littoral; under which treaty, forced as it was by Japan from China at the sword's point, Japan had forthwith entered into full military possession of those two provinces as above specified, and was occupying them in the latter part of 1894 and the early part of 1895, as a part and parcel of the Japanese Empire.

This action of the Western powers informed her that notwithstanding the fact that her then-existing treaty, extorted from China, was still in full force and operation, she would not be allowed to dismember the Chinese Empire by incorporating Korea or any part of Manchuria with the Empire of Nippon, but that she must forthwith restore all of the Chinese territory forcibly seized by her as spoils of war, to the dominion of China, the ancient and true owner of it. Japan did, thereupon, at this stern bidding of the Western nations, early in 1895, evacuate Korea and Manchuria, thus remitting those two provinces to their true allegiance—and this is the whole story of the Japanese-Chinese-Russian transaction which Professor Maxey calls the "crime more difficult to forget or forgive than others, *i. e.*, the having been robbed of a piece of land"; and which President McKinley calls in his message of December 3, 1900, "preserving Chinese territorial and administrative entity."

Can the average American citizen be

considered as accepting Professor Maxey as the spokesman of his sentiments concerning this point of the Russo-Japanese controversy, or will he give his assent to President McKinley's interpretation of the situation?

Three years after the Western powers drove Japan from Chinese territory, on the twenty-seventh day of April, 1898, China leased to Russia, for the period of ninety-nine years, Port Arthur, Talienwan, and 800 square miles of lower Manchuria, upon condition that Russia would construct railroads connecting Port Arthur and some other sea-ports of Manchuria with the trans-Siberian railroad, and would improve the harbors of Port Arthur and Talienwan, maintaining them for the use of Chinese and Russian war-vessels and for the commerce of the world, but for the war-vessels of no power except China and Russia, and specifying in detail the terms upon which the possession of the leased territory should be surrendered at the expiration of the term. China delivered possession of this leased territory at once to Russia. Russia forthwith proceeded diligently and honestly, fully to comply with the terms of the lease upon her part, and to the present day no complaint has been heard against Russia's occupation and control of the leased premises from China, or from any nation of the world, except from Japan.

Five years after the Western powers had driven Japan from Chinese territory, "Chinese territorial and administrative entity," to use again Mr. McKinley's language, was once more threatened—this time by a rebellion of China's own subjects, calling themselves "Boxers."

On the twelfth day of June, 1900, the rebels, encouraged by the Empress, rose against the Chinese Government, and met with success so sudden and so complete, that the division of the Empire into two parts, if not the total disintegration of it, seemed imminent.

Instantaneously recognizing such a rupture of China's national organization as a calamity entailing world-wide dis-

aster, the United States, Great Britain, France, Germany, Austria and Italy, with life-or-death dispatch, hurried armies and men-of-war to the scene of trouble; and what did Japan do but join in this cosmopolitan enterprise, with a military and naval contingent the best drilled, best equipped, and all round best prepared for immediate hard service, of any force on the scene of action—all to avert, if possible, the dire consequences of a dismemberment of the Chinese Empire. So efficient was the power of the six Western nations above named, aided by the power of Japan, that on the fourteenth day of August, 1900, Peking, the Chinese capital, was captured by the allied armies—the rebellion was crushed—China was saved from dismemberment—order was restored, and the foreign troops were promptly withdrawn from Chinese territory.

What change then came over Japan, that within three short years of this, her very remarkable spurt of zealous concern for the autonomy and the "territorial entity" of the Chinese Empire she should be found on the twenty-eighth day of July, 1903, beginning her diplomatic campaign of corrupt solicitation of the Czar to induce Russia to join her in the disruption and division of China between them, by slicing therefrom Korea for herself and Manchuria for Russia? Japan's cajoleries to Russia to obtain her consent to this capture of Chinese territory continued with ever-increasing intensity until the fifth day of February, 1904, when, finding her proposals steadily either ignored or rejected by the Czar, she abruptly withdrew her minister from St. Petersburg and within a week thereafter opened fire on the unsuspecting Russian fleet at Port Arthur. Japan could fight, in the year 1900, to prevent the Boxers from tearing to pieces the map of China, and it seems, according to Professor Maxey, she can also, in 1904, justly go to war with Russia for refusing to allow *her* to tear off a piece of the same map for herself, although at the same

time she offered a liberal fragment of the Chinese Empire to Russia. Japan showed all the fairness that is in her by constantly endeavoring, throughout her six months' negotiations with Russia, extending from July 28, 1903, to February 5, 1904, to induce Russia to join with her in despoiling China—all that she asked of Russia being to "recognize by formal treaty the *exclusive right* of Japan to give advice and assistance in the interest of reform and good government in Korea, including necessary military assistance," Japan proposing, thereupon, reciprocally to "recognize," also by formal treaty, anything in Manchuria that Russia would claim—in other words Japan began her six months' negotiations with Russia to make the single point of inducing Russia to connive at a ruthless rapine of China's finest provinces, she simply standing by to witness Japan's dismemberment of the Chinese Empire by the absorption of Korea into the Japanese Empire, and Japan returning the favor by attesting Russia's seizure of Manchuria. Because Russia refused any and all part or lot in this bribery and corruption scheme, Japan started this war.

Japan has now, temporarily (as the end will show), overrun, and obtained military possession of Korea—and this within three months of the time when she began the war. Inflated with her success she declared a "protectorate" over Korea, which protectorate she now enforces by her military power. She also, considering her hold on Korea permanently established, issued a decree, now being carried into execution, that every vessel leaving Japan for Korea should carry 150 Japanese men and 75 Japanese women to Korea for the purpose of colonizing that province. The Mikado and his highest State officers, by all accounts, now proclaim that in order to stop further horrible slaughter of Russians Japan wishes to close the war, she retaining Korea.

The above statements concerning the negotiations of 1903-4, between Japan

and Russia, concerning Manchuria and Korea, are taken from Japan's *ex parte* official statement of them, as contained in the pamphlet of about seventy pages mentioned by Professor Maxey in the November ARENA, prepared by the authority of the Japanese government in March, 1904. This pamphlet is entitled "Correspondence regarding the negotiations between Japan and Russia, 1903-1904. Presented to the (Japanese) Imperial Diet, March, 1904."

It contains the speech of the Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs, Baron Komura Jutaro, in making his official report to the Diet, and also alleged official copies of the correspondence during the negotiations, as the same passed between the Baron and Mr. Kurino the Japanese Minister at St. Petersburg, with Baron Komura's statement of the substance of the Russian replies. It was, beginning in the early summer of this (1904) year, and is now circulated gratuitously from the Japanese Embassy at Washington, and from *depôts* in Boston, New York and Philadelphia, presumably for the purpose of creating in the United States and elsewhere a popular Japanese sympathy and sentiment.

Professor Maxey quoted from this Japanese circular, and it is respectfully submitted that a glance at the entire publication, by an impartial reader, will show him that it does not sustain the Professor's deductions from it. It is also quoted somewhat, in this paper, being quoted a little and cited in full as sustaining the writer's views above given, and as demonstrating, when considered in connection with the well-known occurrences of the last ten years in the far East which have now passed into history, that Japan is inexcusably in the wrong in her present avowed political and territorial-expansion purposes and objects, and is radically and criminally wrong in beginning and in carrying on this war to sustain them. The reader must judge between the two presentations of the wrong and the right.

Surely it is clear that the principal "Powers" of the civilized world, one of which community Japan essays to be, are one and all, singly and collectively, committed as hard and fast as good faith, national honor and plain agreements can bind them, to maintain and "preserve Chinese territorial and administrative entity."

Can Professor Maxey explain how Japan can seize upon and Japanize Korea consistently with this attitude and action of what may be denominated the whole enlightened world?

Japan's present military occupation of Korea, her protectorate over it, and her colonization of it, consummate, if allowed to continue, a dismemberment of the Chinese Empire, precisely as she temporarily effected China's dismemberment in 1894.

When President McKinley said in his message of 1900 that: "All the powers concurred in emphatic disclaimers of any purpose of aggrandizement through the dismemberment of the Chinese Empire," did he mean to include Japan in his statement or did he mean that Japan did not unite in such "emphatic disclaimers"?

As before remarked, no power except Japan has ever complained of Russia's Manchurian lease, or of Russia's occupation of Manchurian territory under her lease,—nor has any power except Japan seized or attempted to wrest from China any Chinese territory.

The question whether Japan was or was not a party to the "emphatic disclaimers" made by the nations as stated by Mr. McKinley, is, however, really immaterial to the correct solution of the problem. If Japan was a party to those "disclaimers" she is violating her faith and murderously destroying her neighbor in waging this war, and it is the duty of all civilized nations to stop her,—but if she was not a party to those disclaimers, can those disclaiming Western powers approvingly or indifferently stand by as witnesses to Japan's disruption of the Chinese Empire

while their own national faith is publicly pledged by their combined official acts and declarations to prevent that very same fate from falling upon China by or through any or all of their own number?

If it is a proper thing to preserve the territorial integrity of the Chinese Empire every enlightened nation of the world is by the circumstances of the situation, in all national good faith, duty and honor, naturally bound to prevent, if possible, the destruction of that territorial integrity by any power whatever, and all such nations are consequently bound, of course, to lend to Russia any assistance she may need, should she happen to need any assistance, in this her single-handed attempt fully to accomplish this world's work.

President McKinley, after stating the agreement of the nations concerning

China, as substantially given above, says: "These views have been and will be earnestly advocated by our representatives."

The attitude of the United States in the premises being therefore so firmly and so fittingly fixed, and having been consistently maintained ever since this world-crisis occurred, what American would wish now to separate himself from the alignment of his country upon this question?

Japan's aim in prosecuting this war, whatever she may declare and affirm as her purpose, can be nothing else than her own selfish aggrandizement at the expense of China's national existence.

Can the American people give to Japan their sympathy and approval in such a marauding venture?

EDWARD CAMPBELL.

Uniontown, Pa.

A REPLY FROM THE VIEW-POINTS OF THE FACTS IN THE CASE.

BY EDWIN MAXEY, M. Dip., LL.D.

AS JUDGE CAMPBELL has thrown down the gauntlet to me by challenging my statement of facts and my conclusions therefrom, contained in the November ARENA, it is not my purpose either to apologize or to retreat from the positions taken therein. Nor would it be in accordance with a reasonable devotion to truth and due respect for the facts of history to let go unchallenged such gross misstatement of facts, even by a professed advocate of the Russian cause, as is to be found in Judge Campbell's arraignment of Japan and defence of Russia.

There is no such variance between American official and public sentiment toward the Russo-Japanese war as the Judge calls attention to in his opening sentence. The attitude of the government is one of non-intervention and the same attitude is taken by the public. No considerable body of American citizens

would have their government become a party to the war. And it should hardly be necessary to call the Judge's attention to the fact that a government must be either a neutral or an ally with reference to a war between two or more other nations. The only difference between the attitude of our government and that of the people is that the obligations of a neutral preclude the former from expressing an opinion with reference to the merits of the controversy, while the individual citizen is free to give expression to his opinion so long as his acts do not violate the laws of neutrality.

It is not the fact that I ever looked "to the American press for some indications of American sentiment . . . that in the dealings with each other, of almost the entire world of nations, during the last ten years, Japan has suffered at the hands of enlightened Christendom some grievous injury which entitles her to the sympathy

of all civilized people." It has never been my habit to indict a whole company for what three of its members were responsible for, or to rest conclusions upon vague or shadowy grounds. Neither was my usual habit departed from in the article referred to. The coalition mentioned in that article could by no reasonable interpretation be made to refer to anything other than the concerted action of Russia, Germany and France immediately after the Chino-Japanese war. No coalition is needed for the purpose of "public consent and approbation."

It is pertinent to inquire where the Judge gets his evidence upon which to rest the conclusion that the Western powers are unanimous in their approval of what has been done by Russia, Germany and France toward preserving the "territorial and administrative entity" of China. To the average person it would seem that the taking of a slice of Chinese territory by each of these three powers could be made to harmonize quite as well with some other intention as with that of a determination to preserve China's "territorial and administrative entity."

The message of President McKinley, frequently referred to by the Judge, was evidently aimed at Russia, Germany and France and not at Japan, as the Judge would have us believe. Any document of this sort must be interpreted in the light of the circumstances under which it is issued. And at the time this document was issued, Japan was doing nothing which could possibly be interpreted as threatening the "territorial and administrative entity" of China, while the others were. It is therefore not true that President McKinley, in his message, and I, in the article to which the Judge objects, were calling the same thing by different names, but upon the contrary we were speaking of different things, and, naturally, characterized them differently.

Equally at variance with the facts is the statement of the Judge that by the "diplomatic intimation delivered by Russia, Germany and France, Japan was

forced to abrogate her Shimonoseki treaty of April 16, 1895, with China, whereby China *ceded* to her in fee-simple the whole of Korea, and the lower part of Manchuria, including Port Arthur and China's entire Pacific littoral." As a matter of fact the treaty of Shimonoseki recognized the independence of Korea, and while it did cede Port Arthur to Japan it made no such cession of "China's entire Pacific littoral." If the Judge did not draw upon his imagination for the facts in this case, I am at a loss to know the source from which he acquired them.

Neither did the mandate of the Western powers inform Japan that "notwithstanding the fact that her then-existing treaty, extorted from China, was still in full force and operation, she would not be allowed to dismember the Chinese Empire by incorporating Korea or any part of Manchuria with the Empire of Nippon." It is not a little strange that the Judge's legal mind did not enable him to recognize the fact that you cannot dismember an empire by taking away from it something which does not belong to it. By the treaty of Tien Tsin, entered into by China and Japan, in 1886, the independence of Korea was recognized by both and it was agreed that neither should send troops into Korea without notifying the other. It is therefore clear that the treaty of Shimonoseki left Korea in the same relation to the Chinese Empire as it found it. "The stern bidding of the Western nations" for Japan to "evacuate Korea and Manchuria, thus remitting those two provinces to their true allegiance" may be "the whole story of the Japanese-Chinese-Russian transaction" but it is a story very inaccurately told. And it is certainly not the story referred to by President McKinley in his message to Congress, of December 3, 1900. Presidential messages are not written with reference to a matter which has been a closed incident for more than five years, but are written rather with reference to matters which are of vital importance and call for an expression of opinion at the

time the message is written. Their purpose is to give information to Congress with reference to existing facts and tendencies, concerning which there may be need for congressional action, not to enlighten them with reference to matters of ancient history concerning which there is no likelihood of their being called upon to act. President McKinley's message read in connection with the diplomatic correspondence of the same year carried on by his Secretary of State, not with Japan, but with those countries claiming "spheres of interest" in China, leaves no doubt but that the message refers to the tendency of certain of those powers to exclude American commerce from those "spheres of interest"—a tendency which was emphasized later by the persistent attempt upon the part of Russia to block the treaty being negotiated between the United States and China, providing for additional American consuls in Manchuria.

The Judge is inaccurate in his statement of what was included in the lease secured by Russia from China. It is not, as he tells us, Port Arthur, Talienwan (Dalny) and "800 square-miles of lower Manchuria," but is Port Arthur, Talienwan and the "adjacent territory." As to what is meant by "adjacent territory," Russia has given no definition except by her acts, and from these it is not difficult to conclude that she intends, or at least did intend, to make it include all of Manchuria, and, if no one successfully contested that interpretation, to give to it a more enlarged interpretation later. No one at all conversant with Russian diplomatic methods would ever suspect her of putting into a contract with China such definite terms as "800 square-miles." She always prefers to use terms upon which a progressive interpretation can be put, and in dealing with China she was wont to insist upon her preferences.

That upon acquiring possession of her leasehold estate, Russia "forthwith proceeded diligently" no one will deny; but that she proceeded "honestly fully to

comply with the terms of the lease upon her part" is by no means so certain. Even according to the Judge's own statement, she was to "improve the harbors of Port Arthur and Talienwan, maintaining them for the use of Chinese and Russian war-vessels and for the commerce of the world." Now, no one will deny that Russia made of Port Arthur an exclusively Russian naval-base and that the commerce of the world was excluded from it by Russia some time before the present war begun. In view of what was being done at Port Arthur, it requires either a sublime faith in or a sublime ignorance of human nature to believe that Russia intended honestly to comply with the terms of her lease. The millions of rubles she was expending in fortifications at Port Arthur was not consistent with the theory of temporary occupation. Governments have not yet become so altruistic or profligate in their expenditures as to expend millions in the protection of a small leasehold estate from which they intend to peaceably withdraw at the expiration of their lease. In view of all the facts, the nations and individuals conversant with the situation had been forced to the conclusion that Russia did not intend to abandon Port Arthur, any more than England intends to abandon Gibraltar or than the United States intends to abandon West Point. In other words, the logic of facts had forced the conclusion that nothing but force, and plenty of it, would ever induce Russia to vacate Port Arthur at the expiration of her lease.

Not only was it evident that Russia did not intend to turn over the leased territory to China at the expiration of the lease—had that been all, the case would have been a different one—but it was sufficiently clear that Russia's military and naval forces in Manchuria were not being augmented for the sole purpose of protecting her leasehold estate which was in no danger. Such augmentation of her forces must have been intended for purposes of aggression against China or

whatever other powers should oppose the consummation of her plan to make herself the dominant power in the Far East. It was these preparations for aggression, not the enjoyment of her leasehold, that precipitated the present conflict.

It is true that "to the present day no complaint has been heard against Russia's occupation of the leased premises from China, or any nation of the world," but it is not true to say "except Japan," for Japan throughout the negotiations recognized the legal right of Russia to occupy the premises leased from China. This recognition, by Japan and the other nations, of Russia's technical legal right to the leased premises is not indicative of approbation, but is merely evidence that they did not think they had sufficient grounds upon which to bring an action of ejectment. Nor is the fact that the other nations did not intervene to prevent the absorption of Manchuria and Korea by Russia conclusive evidence that Japan was not warranted in doing so. No other nation complained of the attempt by France to absorb Mexico, but the United States did. The same is true in the case of Venezuela. There are times when the necessities of self-defence override the refinements of legal rules and fictions. And so far as can be seen that time had come in the relations between Japan and Russia.

The new interpretation put by Judge Campbell upon the Boxer uprising seems to possess the virtue of originality. But does it square with the facts? The proclamations and the acts of the Boxers show clearly that the Boxer outbreak was aimed primarily against foreigners, and did not threaten the "territorial and administrative entity" of China. If it were aimed at the government at all, it was with a view to securing a change of rulers and not for the purpose of splitting the Empire into two parts. If, however, the peculiar and irrational course of the Boxer rebellion leaves room for doubt as to its real purpose, there can nevertheless be no room for doubt as to the purpose

of the United States in sending troops to Peking. It was not to prevent the Chinese people from having two governments, if they wished, but to protect the lives of American citizens besieged in the embassy at Peking. Some of the other powers may have had ulterior motives in sending their troops into China, but so far as appears from what was said, the only purposes of the relief expedition were: the relief of the embassies, the securing of reparation for injury done to their citizens in violation of international law, and guarantees against like occurrences in the future. The Chinese government was held responsible for the acts of the rebels and left to put down the rebellion and punish the rebels as best it could. There is no evidence that the expedition of the allies strengthened or purposed to strengthen the one faction or the other. It purposed merely the enforcing respect for the law of nations by punishing its violations regardless of the faction to which they belonged.

The Judge's statement that the "foreign troops were *promptly* withdrawn from Chinese territory" is true with respect to all the troops except Russia's. If the statement is to be applied to hers it is not true, unless we either consider Manchuria as not Chinese territory or else put upon the word *promptly* a construction which would be an outrage upon the English language; for three years after the rebellion had been put down Russia had in Manchuria a number of troops variously estimated at from one to two hundred thousand. It was this retention of her troops in Manchuria in violation of her promises to withdraw them that led to the strained relations resulting in the present war.

It is not the fact that Japan was found "on the twenty-eighth day of July, 1903, beginning her diplomatic campaign of corrupt solicitations of the Czar to induce Russia to join her in the disruption and division of China between them, by slicing therefrom Korea for herself and Manchuria for Russia." In addition to

the error of placing Korea as a part of the Chinese Empire, whereas it was at that time and had for nearly twenty years been independent, the above statement of the purpose of Japan in opening negotiations with Russia is purely a fabric of the Judge's fancy. For there are no facts showing a change of front upon the part of Japan within "three short years." Even if we grant that what Japan was fighting for in 1900 was the preservation of the "territorial and administrative entity" of China, and grant further that in 1903 she proposed taking Korea, an independent power, there is up to this point no inconsistency in her action. The inconsistency, if inconsistency there be, is in the next part of her alleged proposition.

If the Judge is correct in his allegation that Japan corruptly attempted to lead Russia away from her fixed policy of non-acquisition of territory by dangling before her eyes so tempting a prize as the rich province of Manchuria, she manifestly forsook the policy of preserving the "territorial and administrative entity" of China, to which she and the other nations were committed, and by so doing not only "showed all the fairness there is in her," but, to be entirely accurate, showed that there is no fairness in her. But there is no evidence, either inside or outside of the negotiations, to show that Japan ever put forth such a proposition or favored such a plan. The first thing insisted upon by her as a basis for negotiations, and adhered to throughout as a part of the irreducible minimum of assurances which she would accept from Russia as a guarantee of the peace of the Orient, was a "mutual engagement to respect the independence and territorial integrity of the Chinese and Korean Empires and to maintain the principles of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations in those countries." A faithful search discloses nothing suggested or agreed to by Japan in the diplomatic correspondence that is inconsistent with this demand.

If we go outside of the negotiations for evidence, we still find none in support of the theory that Japan ever favored or would peaceably consent to said absorption of Manchuria. Whatever her sentiment, her national interests would not permit it,—in fact her national life would be threatened thereby. For with Russia firmly planted in Manchuria, Korea would be doomed, treaty or no treaty. And with Korea in possession of Russia, Japan would be at her mercy. To believe that Japan would openly court such an undesirable state of affairs requires a scepticism as to her rationality which few people possess. That the Judge should ever have reached the conclusion that such was the policy of Japan is proof positive that with reference to our mental construction, at least, "we are fearfully and wonderfully made."

The extent of Japan's proposition with reference to Manchuria was to recognize Russia's special interests there in railway enterprises and in her leasehold estate, at the same time insisting that Russia agree to withhold from taking any steps inconsistent with China's sovereign rights in the province. Had Russia been willing to make this promise, and keep it, the nations of the world would not need to have feared the disruption of China, and it would have saved Russia many a ruble, many a war-ship, many a subject. As against these substantial losses, and, if the war is persisted in, greater losses yet to come, the Pharisaical assurance of the Judge that "Russia refused any and all part or lot in this bribery and corruption scheme" is but a feeble recompense.

The charge of duplicity made by the Judge against Japan for "abruptly withdrawing her minister from St. Petersburg and within a week thereafter opening fire on the unsuspecting Russian fleet at Port Arthur," is simply an echo of the wail set up by the peace-loving Czar and Count Cassini. There is no merit in this charge. For when Russia persisted that the question of Manchuria was "exclusively one for her and China,"

peaceful negotiations had reached a standstill and Japan had a perfect right, if she felt that her vital interests demanded it, to withdraw her minister; and when in doing so she notified Russia that "the Imperial Government reserves to itself the right to take such independent action as it thinks best to consolidate its menaced position as well as to protect its established rights and legitimate interests," the language was sufficiently plain so that there was no excuse for the Russian fleet at Port Arthur being caught "unsuspecting."

That Japan has declared a "protectorate" over Korea is substantially true, and it is very probably true that she will continue such "protectorate" until the end of the present struggle,—the exigencies of war demand it; but that she intends to hold Korea permanently, the proof is yet lacking. The decree referred to has not been promulgated, and would be impracticable if it had. It would amount to a sentence of exile against thousands of Japanese citizens; for suppose, and such a supposition is by no means unreasonable, they refuse to go? Here again the Judge has drawn upon his imagination, or some other weird source of information, for his facts. As yet there is no more tangible evidence than rumor upon which to base the statement that Japan has, through her "Mikado and his highest State officers," proclaimed terms upon which she is willing to close the war. Nor is it at all likely that she will, until Port Arthur has fallen and the fate of the Baltic fleet is decided.

It is very true that the pamphlet from which I quoted freely in my November article is an "*ex parte* official statement" by the Japanese government, but the correctness of its statements have never been challenged. If it misrepresents the position taken by either government, it would be easy for Russia to show this by making public the entire correspondence, as she has a perfect right to do. Should this *exposé* convict Japan of an attempt to awaken "popular sympathy"

by misrepresentation, it would discredit her with all fair-minded people. Until this is done, and Russia has already had nearly a year in which to do it, it is but reasonable and fair to suppose that the document sets forth truthfully the facts. If such is the case, it is the right, and, I think, the duty of Japan, to distribute the document, gratuitously or otherwise; for, to paraphrase the language of the Declaration of Independence, "a decent respect" for the public opinion of mankind demands that the causes of going to war be made known to the world.

As to whether or not the Japanese circular sustains the deductions which I make from it in my article in the November *ARENA*, I am as willing as is Judge Campbell for the impartial reader to decide. No better jury would I ask, and certainly I deserve no better. If Japan is "inexcusably in the wrong," I submit that it is a trifle strange so few besides Judge Campbell should have found it out. It is indeed hard for me to believe that either the ethics of the American people has suddenly become so perverted or their judgments so deranged that the great bulk of them would take the wrong side on a simple question of right or wrong, and it is to such a question that the Judge reduces the present situation.

I fully agree with the Judge that the "principal powers of the civilized world, one of which Japan essays to be, are one and all, singly and collectively, committed as hard and fast as good faith, national honor and plain agreements can bind them, to maintain and preserve Chinese territorial and administrative entity." And will also point out the fact that since the message was written, containing this wholesome rule of action, the only power that has not conformed to it is Russia herself, who would have us believe and whom Judge Campbell would have us believe is now fighting the battles of China.

In reply to the Judge's direct challenge with reference to Korea, I will say that the seizure of Korea by Japan, or any

other nation, would no more be a dismemberment of the Chinese Empire, nor a violation of her "territorial and administrative entity" than would be the seizure of Siam.

Undoubtedly President McKinley intended to include Japan when he said "all the powers." And there is no doubt that Japan was a party to the "disclaimers." She is still a party, and her action is not inconsistent with said "disclaimers."

The Judge's proposition, that it is the duty of all civilized nations to intervene to stop Japan from waging war, is a most remarkable one. It accords neither with good statesmanship nor with good ethics. Take the case of the United States, which is no doubt one of the civilized nations, and which has issued a proclamation of neutrality. Would it be the duty of the United States now to belie that proclamation by interfering in order to prevent a friendly nation from doing just the sort of things we had every reason to suspect, when that proclamation was issued, she would do? Or, a still stronger case—that of England, another of the civilized nations. In addition to having issued a proclamation of neutrality, England is bound by treaty, not only to not interfere, but to prevent any other nation from interfering. But proclamations and treaties apart, whence comes this duty of any nation to interfere in

order to prevent a sister-nation from waging war in self-defence?

In his proposition that "every enlightened nation is bound by all national good faith, duty and honor, to lend to Russia any assistance she may need, should she happen to need any assistance" the Judge reaches the climax either of humor or folly—I say not which.

In answer to the Judge's final question, "Can the American people give to Japan their sympathy and approval in such a marauding venture?" I will say that the American people do give to Japan their sympathy and approval and that they are not accustomed to giving their sympathy and approval in case of marauding ventures.

In this connection it might not be out of place to call the Judge's attention to the fact that epithets are neither arguments, evidence nor proof.

Having examined the Judge's "pleadings" in detail, I shall close by characterizing them in general. They furnish a pronounced example of "special pleading." No one could ever mistake them for the utterances of a careful and impartial student of history or political science. There is something about them which is strongly suggestive of inspiration from St. Petersburg.

EDWIN MAXEY.

Morgantown, W. Va.

GARNET WARREN: CARTOONIST.

By B. O. FLOWER.

I. YOUTH AND EARLY MANHOOD.

GARNET WARREN, whose cartoons in the Boston *Herald* have been so widely copied that they have familiarized the public on both sides of the Atlantic with that journal, and who is at present doing for the New York *Globe* what he formerly did for the Boston

Herald in popularizing that paper through his powerful and effective cartoons, is one of the five or six newspaper artists whose work is entitled to special commendation, both as to quality and excellence of subject-matter. It is one thing to be able to draw a fine, strong and artistic picture; quite another to possess the requisite imagination and power to seize upon

Warren, in *Boston Herald*.

INTERVENTION—THE HOPE OF THE WORLD.

some theme that is uppermost in the public mind and express it in such a way that it will make more impression than the labored argument of an editorial leader. When the artist is fortunate enough to possess the skill and technique necessary for the production of good work and the power to seize upon a situation and externalize it pictorially so as to drive home some fact or "damn a fallacy with a laugh," and when in addition to this he possesses the knowledge of literature that enables him to employ in this connection an apt quotation from Shakespeare or some other well-known author, or an epigrammatic phrase of his own, he is bound to rise well-nigh to the top in his chosen work. And it is in the possession of these three essentials for the newspaper cartoonist that we find the secret of Mr. Warren's success.

He was born in London thirty years ago, but when quite small the family moved to Australia, where all his boyhood recollections cluster.

"I cannot remember so far back as the

time when I was not drawing," said Mr. Warren recently. "My first offences were houses with great volumes of smoke pouring from their alleged chimneys. From this it was only a short step to drawing the school-masters, and then trouble began. One day when I had just finished an atrocious effigy of the teacher, he caught me red-handed, and I, 'like a wretch o'ertaken in his tracks, with stolen chattels on his back,' tremblingly awaited my punishment. On this occasion the master, evidently determined to make the punishment fit the crime, compelled me to make one hundred drawings of a certain face. Well, I can tell you that long before that task was finished all the artistic instinct in me seemed dead beyond hope of resurrection; but such was not the case, as a few weeks later I was again at my old pastime.

"About that time, when I was still very young, the late Phil. May arrived in Australia and was engaged to furnish regular cartoons for the *Sydney Bulletin*. I remember his pictures were a wonderful



Warren, in Boston Herald.

UNDER CONTROL.

stimulus to me, as were also the more broadly funny drawings of the American humorist, Livingston Hopkins, who had settled in our midst. Their pictures aroused a deep interest in my mind in politics, and perhaps exerted more influence than anything else in turning my attention toward journalism. Every week I eagerly looked for the cartoons, and though only about twelve years of age I was quite a politician among my comrades and playmates and was always eager for a discussion with my elders, substituting, no doubt, the assertiveness of ignorance and immaturity for wisdom and logic, as is the way with youth."

At length the time came when the father wished his son to select a profession. It had been his hope and desire that Garnet should follow in his footsteps and become a physician, but this the boy was disinclined to do, lacking the necessary application. Finally deciding to become a dentist, he took service as an apprentice,

but after five months the master declined to have the boy with him longer because of lack of interest and application. Next he became a stenographer in a business-office, remaining in that capacity for four years.

"During this period," said Mr. Warren, in referring to his early struggles, "my old taste for picture-making led me to join a drawing-class. I was then about twenty. My office-work required my time from nine to five each day, but from seven to ten I spent in the drawing-school; then I would hasten over to the Parliament House to make sketches of the members for one of our weekly papers, working there till two in the morning; so my life at that time was strenuous enough to suit the most exacting American taste, and perhaps too strenuous for my constitution."

After a time a tempting opportunity was offered Mr. Warren to go to South America on a business venture. He



Warren, in *Boston Herald*.

BUT WOULD N'T ARBITRATION BE A BETTER WAY?

WARREN'S SANE SUGGESTION IN REPLY TO THE PRESIDENT'S CALL FOR A GREATER NAVY.

traveled along the whole Western coast and from thence up to San Francisco, California. When in this bustling American metropolis of the Pacific, he applied for a position in the art department of the *Examiner* and was promptly assigned a place; but the well-filled department, with its numbers of young men working away like steam-engines under high pressure, frightened him so that before the morning came when he was to begin his work he had decided to return to Australia instead of remaining in the republic. Arriving home, he secured the position of cartoonist on *The Queenslander*, which he held for two years, when again his desire to travel and seek more promising fields overmastered him. Accordingly he set out for London, in which city he remained nine months, drawing some cartoons for the *Chronicle*, and several pictures for *The King* and other publications. London, however, seemed to promise less opportunity for advancement than America, so he set out for New

York. That was about four years ago. He soon obtained a place on the *New York Herald*, though not as a cartoonist. He remained with the *Herald* for over two years, when he accepted an offer from the *New York News*, which position he retained until the reorganization of that paper. He then came to Boston and accepted a position offered on the *Boston Herald*. At the time of his coming to this city he determined to make cartoon-work his life occupation, and into his labors he has thrown much of that heart-interest which Longfellow tells us "giveth grace to every art." His cartoons are widely copied, and though only thirty years of age he to-day ranks with our best American newspaper cartoonists.

II. ART WORK AND THE INFLUENCE OF MATERIALISTIC COMMERCIALISM ON THE IDEALISM OF YOUTH.

When a dentist's apprentice, and later a stenographer. Warren clung tenaciously to his drawing as a pleasant pastime, and



Warren, in Boston Herald.

IT SEEMS TO BE IN FASHION.

when he was fifteen years of age one of his drawings was accepted and published in the *Sydney Punch*. In speaking of how he felt when his first picture appeared, Mr. Warren, with his face lighted up by the memory of a golden hour now fifteen years past, said:

"I did not receive any pay for my first picture. I was only too proud to find it in the paper. I shall never forget the thrill that went through me when I saw myself in print. I walked through the streets in a daze. I have had the feeling a few times since, but never so strong as the first time. Alas! I never feel it any more; I suppose I am getting too old."

To us this confession was unutterably sad, because it spoke of the dwarfing of the poet's eternal child-soul in a young man but thirty years of age. It spoke of the crushing of that idealism that is as essential to full-orbed manhood as oxygen is necessary to physical existence by the

grinding, wearing pressure of modern business life—the struggle for bread and position, for the right to live in reasonable comfort in a world of marvelous wealth and one wherein, under just distribution and enjoyment of life's necessities, all who were willing to toil would be amply supplied. What a commentary on a social system—on a civilization—which is so brutalizing in its subtle but powerful and almost irresistible influence on the finest side of life that in a few short years it crushes, deadens and all but destroys the poet-soul in man, drying up the fountain of eternal youth that so long as it flows makes existence, with all its perplexities, its problems, its disappointments and sorrows, a perpetual source of strength and joy! A social system that dwarfs the divine life in the soul of the child, so that the normal delights born of achieving honorable success, of creating something, no longer find a response in the heart of the man, is a system that is already condemned,



Warren, in Boston Herald.

WHERE THE BIG STICK IS NEEDED.

because it fails to minister to the highest and worthiest elements in our being. A system that crushes idealism, destroys the joys born of lofty aspirations, and takes from life that mystic charm that only the poet knows, is of necessity destructive rather than constructive in its ultimate influence. A civilization thus dominated may burst into dazzling splendor on its materialistic side, but it is the glory of the autumn that presages the flight of the soul—the gorgeous outward magnificence of imperial Rome when, rich in gold, corrupt in heart, arrogant in spirit, but smitten in the vitals, she reeled forward to ignoble death. No social system whose dominating note is egoism, no civilization which rests on brutal competition or on the combination of the few for the spoliation of the many, can long endure. It necessarily carries the seeds of decay in its own being, and the very ideals that govern foster the growth

of the germs of death. The rosy glow that suffuses its cheek, which the ignorant and superficial mistake for health, is the hectic flush of approaching death. In one way only can it avert certain doom, and that is by substituting altruism for egoism, idealism for sordid desire, concern for all in place of absorption in self. No truer or more needed sermon has been preached in recent years than that uttered by our matchless poet of social democratic progress, Edwin Markham, in these lines:

"Voices are crying from the dust of Tyre,
From Baalbec and the stones of Babylon—
'We raised our pillars upon Self-Desire,
And perished from the large gaze of the sun.'

Eternity was on the pyramid,
And immortality on Greece and Rome;
But in them all the ancient Traitor hid,
And so they tottered like unstable foam.

There was no substance in their soaring hopes:
The voice of Thebes is now a desert cry;
A spider bars the road with filmy ropes
Where once the feet of Carthage thundered by.

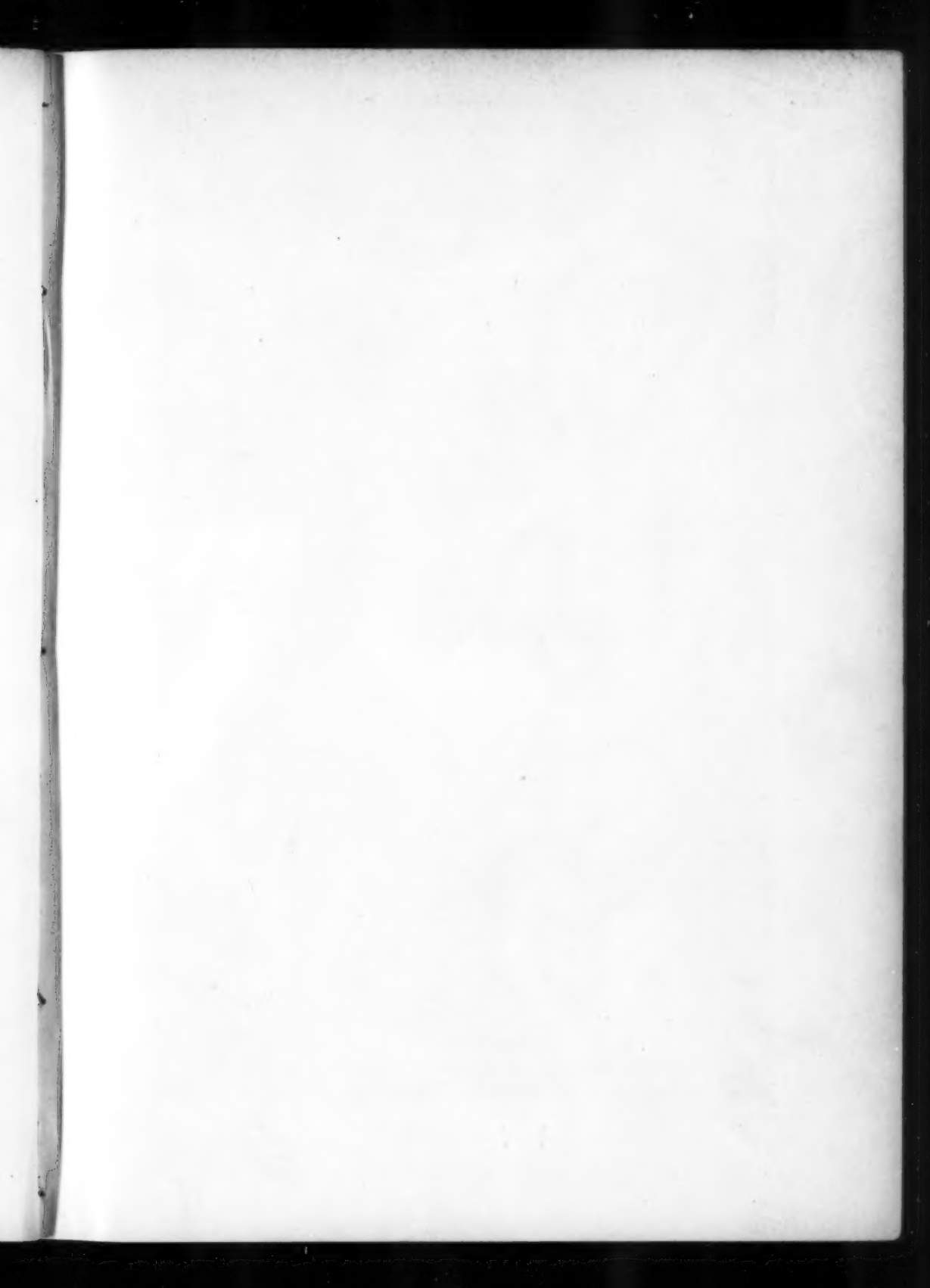
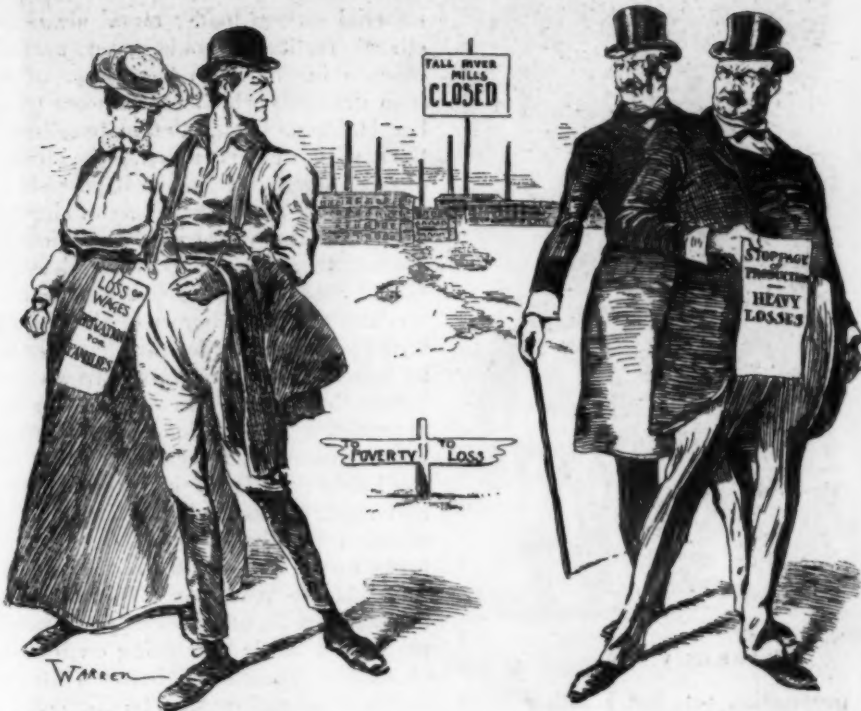




Photo. by Brayton, Boston.

GARNET WARREN



Warren, in Boston Herald.

"A HALF FOR THEE AND A HALF FOR THEE."

A bitter boom where once fair Helen laughed;
A thistle nods where once the Forum poured;
A lizard lifts and listens on a shaft
Where once of old the Colosseum roared.

No house can stand, no kingdom can endure
Built on the crumbling rock of Self-Desire:
Nothing is Living Stone, nothing is sure,
That is not whitened in the Social Fire."

That Garnet Warren is by nature endowed with the artist's imaginative soul and the poet's idealism is evidenced not only in much of his work, but is seen in his frank, earnest countenance and his clear, candid eye. And yet in reply to our question, "Would you be willing to draw pictures representing ideas and ideals that you do not believe?" he hesitated a moment and then said:

"I have never been up against that question yet. I do not know. I should be willing to draw for a Republican paper or a Democratic paper, and in the event that I was on a paper that represented

convictions which I do not hold, I should try and make my cartoons such as to satisfy my employer and yet do no violence to my convictions. Of course I should prefer to work along the line of my beliefs, for I have very strong beliefs. The convictions I had as a little kid have never changed. I have got them now down in the bottom of my heart, but I must admit that the conflict of life has been too much for me, and I am now simply an adaptable hireling—a part of the machine, the 'system.' But if I could, without too great prejudice to myself, strike a blow for what I believe to be right, I should be glad to do it."

"Would you," we asked, "be willing to make sacrifices—great personal sacrifices—in order to be true to your own ideals and convictions in your work?"

"Frankly," he replied, "I do not know. I have never, as I said, been up against



Warren, in Boston Herald.

THE ONLY WAY.

that proposition yet, but I rather think I should."

"Would you have entertained the idea of drawing pictures representing thoughts contrary to your own ideas of what was true when you were young—when you were eighteen years of age, for instance?"

"Now I do not know—I do not know. A person cannot analyze himself really well. After all, he never knows himself until the opportunity for saying yes or no does come, and as it has never come to me, I do not know."

Though we deeply regretted Mr. Warren's indecision in the presence of questions which we regard as being so crucially important both to the individual and to society, we could not fail to admire his rare and refreshing candor. Indeed, there is something very boyish, genuine and charming in his personality. We feel and believe that only the subtle influence of an environment of sordid materialism, such as prevails to-day as the legitimate result of social and economic conditions that place expediency and

material success before moral ideals and ethical rectitude, could even partially obscure his naturally-fine sense of the high demands which life imposes on all her children. Only the materialism of the market, that is destroying the idealism of our young, could make it possible for such natures as Garnet Warren to hesitate to follow the dictates of conscience—hesitate to choose as Socrates chose, as Christ chose, as the prophets, the martyrs and the moral heroes of all ages who have led civilization forward have chosen, to tread the solitary, thorn-strewn path rather than journey in ease over a way approved by conventionalism and pleasing to egoism, when the soul cries out that the lonely path is the highway of justice and right, whose real goal may only be revealed by the light of duty's torch borne by the foot-sore servants of civilization. If we read Mr. Warren's mind aright, there is, unconsciously to himself, perhaps, a battle ever going on between idealism and positivism, between altruism and egoism; and we shall be disappointed if in the end the idealism of the true artist-soul fails to triumph. We believe that there is in him that basic moral virility, which as life's great problems unfold, will develop until it colors his thoughts, influences his pen and guides his life.

III. SOME VIEWS ON SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC QUESTIONS.

A newspaper cartoonist of the first rank must be a man in intimate touch with the momentous events and happenings of the day throughout the world. He must be a man whose mind is sufficiently trained to quickly recognize a logical sequence and the relation of one event or fact to another. He must furthermore possess the imagination of the poet and artist, who at once recognizes the master-thought in the panorama of the day, or that which is most compelling in its sway over the public mind; and he must also be able to effectively externalize it in a quickly-drawn picture. But to be

able to thus epitomize contemporary events so as to reflect the views as held by the "daily" for which he labors, the artist must be thoroughly conversant with the great living questions of the hour. Mr. Warren has the true instinct of the journalist, but he is also far more thoughtful and clear-visioned than many pretentious editorial writers. In the course of a recent conversation the discussion led to the vexed questions of protection and free-trade, and we inquired his views.

"Well," he replied, "that depends. Under some circumstances I should be a protectionist, and under others I should be a free-trader. Let me illustrate. In Australia some years ago the importers were becoming a powerful, wealthy class at the expense of the people of the various colonies. It was impossible to successfully inaugurate new industries, because the cost of starting the same was so great as to make it impracticable to sell goods in competition with the imported articles, and we were then becoming more and more dependent on other lands, while the various manufactures and other industries that under protection would and later did spring into vigorous life, affording remunerative labor for tens of thousands, were out of the question until the state granted protection. Now at that stage in the development of Australia I believe protection to have been wise and necessary. When great businesses, however, have grown up and become so

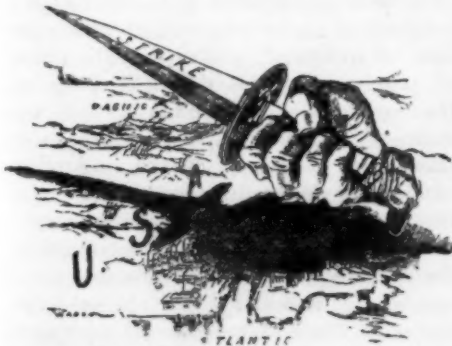


Warren, in Boston Herald.

LIGHT IN DARKEST RUSSIA.

powerful as to oppress the people by exorbitant charges, and in order to extend their special privileges and gain an additional advance in prices, seek directly or indirectly to corrupt the people's servants, then I hold that protection is inimical to the best interests of society, for the double reason that it oppresses the masses and corrupts the sources of government."

"In other words," we observed, "your position is substantially that once held by Henry Clay, who was called the father of American protection. He strongly favored protecting the infant industries so long as they were in fact infant industries; but neither he nor his followers in the early days dreamed of extending protection to privileged interests when they became powerful enough to oppress instead of benefit the people. Colonel Ingersoll, who for years was a strong advocate of protection, at length grew weary of the continuous Oliver-Twist cry of enormously-rich interests for more privilege, and on one occasion he declared that while he believed most heartily in protecting infant industries, he was decidedly opposed to extending that protection after the infants wore boots and grew whiskers. So, I take it, you, while favoring legislation that would foster and encourage the establishment of new industries and manufactures, would oppose continuing such protection in cases where



Warren, in Boston Herald.

"HOW LONG, O LORD, HOW LONG!"

Warren, in *Boston Herald*.

NAKED, BUT UNASHAMED.

combinations are becoming a menace to free institutions, and at the same time are placing the American people at a disadvantage, as, for example, in the case of the steel-trust, which through the iniquitous protective legislation is enabled to charge the citizens of this republic from six to eleven dollars a ton more for steel than it charges the citizens of England or Canada."

"Well, Mr. Flower, you have put my views in a very few words much better than I can put them myself," replied Mr. Warren.

In speaking of methods of advancing theories and views which one held to be highly beneficial to a people or a nation, Mr. Warren advocated practical opportunism marked by the spirit of concession within certain bounds. In this way, he holds, far more can be achieved in the end than by uncompromising adherence to a fixed form-

ula. His ideas are similar to those of Jaurés and the idealistic socialists of France, in contradistinction to those of Bebel and his followers in Germany. In the case of Jaurés it will be noted that that great orator and civic leader has achieved remarkable reforms, and has placed the republic in an attitude favorable to a step-by-step rationalistic programme of social progress, in which the idea of universal secular education and of peace supersedes dogmatic religious training and the domination of the military imperialistic ideal that to-day prevails in Germany, Russia and other reactionary lands. By combining with the republicans, the socialist representatives under Jaurés' lead have changed the entire drift of the government from reactionary, monarchal and clerical tendencies to those of enlightened and sane democratic advance; while Bebel and his followers, by refusing to unite with

the liberals, have signally failed to win legislative victories and advantages that they might have gained through such a wise policy as marked the French socialists under Jaurés, and while following this course the government has been enabled to combine with the reactionary clericals and others, who hold ideas inimical to republican principles, with the result that now the socialists are threatened with having their powers in government materially lessened if not destroyed through restrictive franchise legislation. Now in political matters our artist holds that the general plan pursued by Jaurés is the plan that results in victory. On this point he said:

"Let me illustrate. In Australia the labor-party finally came to hold the balance of power, and without compromising the principles they hold to be vital and fundamental, they—wisely, as I think—united with the party that would pledge itself to grant them certain special legislation that was a part of their platform or a demand of the party. In this way they have step by step achieved most amazing victories that could not have been gained had they refused to be practical opportunists."

In speaking of Australian politics, Mr. Warren observed that in the labor-party there is present a feature not unlike the popular recall or the imperative mandate in character. Every candidate pledges himself to the party that if, at any time during his term of office, a majority of his party demands his resignation, he will promptly acquiesce in that demand.

Like all the more discerning and thoughtful men who believe in the ideals of republican government, or the fundamental principles of democracy, Mr. Warren holds that the most important political need of the day is that of getting the government back into the hands of the people, in order that it may again become in fact, as well as in theory, a government of the people, by the people, and for the people.



"STANDING PAT."

Warren's Idea (in the *Boston Herald*) of where the People come in under the Trust-Ruled Republican Party's Thought.

We have strong faith in Mr. Warren's future. He is a true artist. He possesses ability far in advance of most of his fellow-craftsmen in his special line of work. He is young. He is one of the most candid natures it has been our fortune to meet; indeed, we may say that only on rare occasions have we been so strongly attracted to a stranger as we were to him, and we believe that far more than he himself imagines he is being led unconsciously by the higher promptings of his nature. He is, we think, far more an idealist at heart than he is aware, and if our judgment is correct he will yet become far more than a brilliant cartoonist; for in proportion as moral enthusiasm more and more enters into his work it will become effective and of positive value to civilization.

B. O. FLOWER.

Boston, Mass.

THE POEMS OF EMERSON.

HERMIONE.

II.

BY CHARLES MALLOY,

President of the Boston Emerson Society.

"This Hermione absorbed
The lustre of the land and ocean,
Hills and islands, cloud and tree,
In her form and motion."

HERMIONE thus absorbed the luster she loved; and is not this verse also an introverted expression for a fact nearer the literal truth, namely, that she absorbed the attention and love of the lover so that he did not see the luster of these objects in nature? It is a general truth that young people are absorbed in persons and do not until later in life come to a love of natural beauty. This fine selection of natural objects leaves us but little besides until we come to the world of persons.

"In her form and motion."

The concession of the lover that Hermione may not be "fair" does not extend to her form and motion. Emerson says that a beautiful form is better than a beautiful face, and a beautiful behavior is better than a beautiful form. There is much in "beautiful behavior" which can be reduced to manners, and almost everything in manners may by a fine analysis be called "motion." It would be difficult to conceive of a queenly character as not implying fine behavior in manners. These things stand in the relation of cause and effect. Good manners is to seem good, and to seem good and to sustain the appearance is to be good. An affectation of good is sure to break down at some unhappy crisis.

The lover, as we have seen, has found one diversion from his sorrow in an occasion to defend Hermione against the animadversions of "they"—the critics. Another sign of convalescence is in the

discovery that beauty is left in nature. Hermione has not both absorbed it and carried it away. He is coming to this hitherto neglected enchantment and so he says:

"This Hermione absorbed
The lustre of the land and ocean,
Hills and islands, cloud and tree,
In her form and motion."

Absorbed, and not *absorbs*. The reader will observe that little is left of nature after all he can gather into these conceptions. They were worth nothing as beauty to the lover in the presence of Hermione. He saw only beauty, luster, in her while she was with him. This extravagant expression is perhaps only an introverted way of saying that Hermione absorbed the attention of the lover and he was not conscious of the luster of land and ocean in the presence of Hermione. When Hermione is gone he comes to nature and finds this luster again, as we shall see in the following lines:

"I ask no bauble miniature,
Nor ringlets dead
Shorn from her comely head,
Now that morning not disdains
Mountains and the misty plains
Her colossal portraiture;
They her heralds be,
Steeped in her quality,
And singers of her fame
Who is their Muse and dame."

This charm of luster as often worn by persons and by nature alike has other names. In "Poetry and Imagination" Emerson calls the quality "transcendency," as that elusive aspect of beauty which description cannot grasp and hold, and which he gives in delicate hints in his "Ode to Beauty":

"Thee gliding through the sea of form,
Like the lightning through the storm,
Somewhat not to be possessed,
Somewhat not to be caressed,
No feet so fleet could ever find,
No perfect form could ever bind."

But in the case of Hermione the lover sees it in her "form and motion." This word "motion" may be well interpreted as meaning manners, since there is nothing seen in manners which may not be reduced to motion, as we have said. Of course manners retire by analysis into psychology at last and are lost to the physical eye as purely spiritual phenomena. There the beauty that follows them is

"Somewhat not to be possessed,
Somewhat not to be caressed,

by the observer.

"Now that morning not disdains
Mountains and the misty plains
Her colossal portraiture."

Where did Emerson get this wild hyperbole? When I was introduced to Emerson by Theodore Parker, as a young man, very much carried away by his writings, he said with his characteristic sweetness and modesty: "I am a great borrower. I read all sorts of books and take what belongs to me." This no doubt describes his way of reading. He did not read everything in a book. He says somewhere: "I read for the lustre." And again: "I value in books only what is transcendental and extraordinary." He says in the chapter on "Idealism" in the little treatise on "Nature": "Shakespeare possesses the power of subordinating nature for the purposes of expression, beyond all poets. His imperial muse tosses the creation like a bauble from hand to hand, and uses it to embody any caprice of thought that is uppermost in his mind." He quotes Shakespeare in these words, said by a lover to his maiden:

"Take those lips away
Which so sweetly were foresworn;
And those eyes—the break of day,
Lights that do mislead the morn."

And he adds: "The wild beauty of this

hyperbole, I may say in passing, it would not be easy to match in literature."

And indeed it is a "wild hyperbole." A maiden's eyes are "the break of day"—an equivalent for morning, and even morning is deceived, misled, by the counterfeit and thinks it is her own proper light.

There are several points of resemblance between Emerson's hyperbole in "Hermione" and this hyperbole from Shakespeare, which he "takes as belonging to him." There is a lover in each, a maiden in each, a personification of morning in each, and morning in each is an interested spectator of effects given by the beauty of the maiden, as if morning were in full sympathy with the lover, like the swallow in a former line. Nature has now her luster back again and is thus a picture of Hermione. Broad landscapes, mountains and the misty plains are a "colossal portraiture." "Steeped in her quality" is a strong and happy expression and comports with the word "genius" as used above. So as the lover looks upon this larger miniature he asks "no bauble miniature," no trifling reminder in ringlets shorn from her "comely head." Many persons are satisfied with a good complexion and a certain regularity in the features of the face, and do not look or care for a "comely head." Phrenology has not quite fulfilled all it promised, but it has instructed us to look at the head as well as the face. The configuration of the head as a whole means more, perhaps, than the technical "bumps" of fifty years ago.

"Who is their Muse and dame."

The mountains and the misty plains are the body and Hermione the soul of the scene. Beauty as subjective, or in the form of emotion, is a universal attribute and the same when the correlate of very different things. Nature and persons often affect us alike. Thus the quality in Hermione and in mountains and the misty plains is Hermione as a figurative or poetical predicate, and is not

beyond the bounds of allowable "double, quadruple or centuple meanings" which the poet sees in words and other symbols. Farther along in the poem the lover calls natural influences his "kindred" who have come to "sooth" him. The word "muse" seems to be a personification for certain effects as well as a fiction for persons. Emerson here uses it as an alternative for "dame."

Now comes a perplexing verse of five lines, the interpretation of which demands a careful review of what has preceded it:

"Higher, dear swallows! mind not what I say.
Ah! heedless how the weak are strong,
Say, was it just,
In thee to frame, in me to trust,
Thou to the Syrian couldst belong?"

"On a mound an Arab lay,
And sung his sweet regrets
And told his amulets:
The summer bird
His sorrow heard,
And, when he heaved a sigh profound,
The sympathetic swallow swept the ground."

The lover has now so far recovered from the sorrow at his great loss that the "sighs profound" have ceased, and the low sweeps of the swallow, his only companion, are no longer needed, so in his changed mood he says:

"Higher, dear swallows! mind not what I say."

Two ameliorations, two signs of convalescence, have come to the lover. First, he has so far forgotten his sorrow as to notice and reply to the critics of Hermione. He cannot bear any depreciation of Hermione. Secondly, though Hermione is gone, he still finds beauty in hill and plain—beauty in nature, and it is the beauty, the soul, of Hermione. In this way he has her still, or, out of his love of nature he has a delightful equivalent. Now another "mind cure" emerges. He has not lost her, as we shall see by analysis of these five lines. It is in view of all this, and chiefly of the last happy thought, that he says:

"Higher, dear swallows! mind not what I say."

Now the paradox:

"Ah! heedless how the weak are strong."

How shall we solve this paradox? By finding two relations, in one of which Hermione is weak and in one of which she is strong. So the words "weak" and "strong" are not used absolutely, but relatively. She is weak in physical power and helpless against the facts of her physical condition, and is utterly unable to escape them. If this may be considered her actual life, then she has nothing besides. She holds her life, in this sense, very largely at the mercy of her husband. He is "arbiter of her fortunes." The lover alludes to this sad circumstance farther on in the poem, as we shall see.

"Ah! heedless how the weak are strong."

He addresses Hermione as in apostrophe, though she may be a thousand miles away:

"Say, was it just,
In thee to frame, in me to trust,
Thou to the Syrian couldst belong?"

In reading this poem in the parlors of a distinguished clergyman, he asked: "Who is the Syrian?" I said that it was the man to whom Hermione was married, presumably, without her love and against her will. This, in an Eastern land, is a possibility very easy to conceive. She is married by the interest and compulsion of her family.

"How do you know?" he asked.

"Well," I could only answer, "I read between the lines, as you do in the Bible, and then see how the case as a whole bears me out."

That the Syrian is the husband of Hermione is thus far only an implication. Hermione had "framed" and the Arab lover had "trusted" or believed that she belonged to the Syrian to whom she had never given herself.

This is delicate and dangerous ground, and Emerson does not often venture upon it. In his lecture upon books, written perhaps not far from the date of this

poem, we find the following not irrelevant passage:

"In novels the most serious questions are beginning to be discussed. What made the popularity of *Jane Eyre* but that a central question was answered in some sort. The question there answered in regard to a vicious marriage will always be treated according to the habit of the party. A person of commanding individualism will answer it as Rochester—as Cleopatra—as Milton—as George Sand do,—magnifying the exception into a rule, dwarfing the world into an exception. A person of less courage, that is, of less constitution, will answer as the heroine does,—giving way to fate, to conventionalism, to the actual state and doings of men and women."

Emerson, I believe, does not return to this theme, too large for settlement by any one mind. He says in "Experience":

"A sympathetic person is placed in the dilemma of a swimmer among drowning men, who all catch at him, and if he give so much as a leg or a finger, they will drown him."

Certainly on this subject it is not safe to give drowning men and women "so much as a leg or a finger." Mrs. Deland a few years ago in her story, *Philip and His Wife*, argues the question well for both, and then leaves them. She does not say how they settled it. I should be inclined to leave it as Mrs. Deland did, and so save my head. In a notable case here in Boston, Rufus Choate contended with his usual eloquence against divorce, saying that the man and wife would come together again, and they did. Perhaps they are the best ones to settle it. At any rate, Emerson does not try to settle it, save in the way suggested in our poem, "Hermione," a settlement in which Hermione agrees, if the Syrian does not. In this settlement Hermione is "strong" and the Syrian is weak and powerless against her. Emerson may have thought

in the case of Rochester, in the case of Milton, that without love there is no marriage. The generalization turns out a vexatious one. It soon gets itself tangled up in endless complications. But that old Bible word, "frame," is a happy choice in the present case. A man once wrote a book to prove that women have no souls. The symptoms at present are rather against such a doctrine. He proved it by the easy argument of the Dutch justice: Six men swore for the plaintiff. They saw the assault complained of. But twelve men swore they did not see it, and the justice said there was a decided preponderance in favor of the defendant. The argument of the man who wrote the book to the end that women have no souls proved that the Bible nowhere says they have, and carried the point, as he thought, by this sweeping negation.

We have the pleasant and generally harmless fiction in our marriage-forms that the bride is given away by some one. But if a woman has a soul and her soul is her own, we might say that she is the only person who can give it away. The act by herself is marriage; without this it is a "frame"—a piece of mechanism without a soul—an event agreeing with law and custom as society demands, but not with what is essential, namely, love, as the soul demands. And this was the great plea of the Arab and Hermione. For a time they were dazed by the social wrong which had torn the lovers asunder. The lover now sees, and Hermione sees, that in a law superior to "frames" she does not belong to the Syrian. She has never given herself to him. By a logic like this, moreover, the lovers could "frame" or construe themselves as belonging to each other. Thus in a high and spiritual sense the lover has not lost Hermione. If she loves him still, she belongs to him still. She, by the only form of gift having a psychological value, has given herself to him. The "frame" of a marriage to another does not annul this essential marriage. But she must

live in "castles in Spain," to use a modern metaphor. In this Hermione is "strong" like her singer—her poet-lover. She is stronger there than the Syrian. She can at any moment leave him. He cannot hinder her. All the troops of the sultan cannot capture her. She can fly away on wings swifter than the swallows, and live delightful hours far away with the man she loves.

Our good didactic teachers are wont to disparage revery—an imaginary life; this often without taking into account the thousand cases wherein it seems proper and unavoidable. What would soldiers do in field and camp, waiting often through inactive periods; what would prisoners do, shut up from the world for many years, but that life other than the actual existence meted out to them were supplied by the imagination? Does one think that Hermione could be kept always in the geometrical or spacial presence of the Syrian. By the laws of the land and by the fact of physical possession only she belongs to him. Did not Napoleon live much in his beloved France during those St. Helena years?

"Ah! heedless how the weak are strong."

The lover is not heedless now. He has sung his sweet regrets to some purpose and perceives the bonds of that finer relation by which he and Hermione are one. This is the last and crowning realization; so he closes the song with his little friend, the swallow. He does not need the low flights any longer.

"Higher, dear swallows! mind not what I say."

This is the solution of the apparent contradiction, the paradox. Hermione is weak in physical power; she is strong in the power to dream dreams. After this the lovers may be considered the subjects of an ideal life, the tenants of fair Arcady, made by their own fancies.

Helen Hunt Jackson has written two poems which may be read as two parts of one poem, in illustration of this dual life, a mixture of the actual and the ideal:

I. APART.

"One place—one roof—one name—their daily bread
In daily sacrament they break
Together, and together take
Perpetual counsel, such as use has fled
The habit of, in works which make
No lie. For courtesy's sweet sake
And pity's, one brave heart whose joy is dead.
Smiles ever, answering words which wake
But weariness; hides all its ache,—
Its hopeless ache, its longing and its dread;
Strong as a martyr at the stake,
Renouncing self; striving to slake
The pangs of thirst on bitter hyssop red,
With vinegar! O brave, strong heart!
God sets all days, all hours apart.
Joy cometh at his hour appointed."

II. TOGETHER.

"No touch—no sight—no sound—wide continents
And seas clasp hands to separate
Them from each other now. Too late!
Triumphant Love has leagued the elements
To do their will. Hath light a mate
For swiftness? Can it overweight
The air? Or doth the sun know accidents?
The light, the air, the sun, inviolate
For them, do constant keep and state
Message of their ineffable contents
And raptures, each in each. So great
Their bliss in loving, even fate,
In parting them, hath found no instruments
Whose bitter pain insatiate
Doth kill it, or their faith abate
In presence of Love's hourly sacraments."

Emerson and Helen Hunt Jackson were very good friends. He had great respect for her, and she had great admiration for him. She addressed to him the following:

TRIBUTE.

"Midway in summer, face to face, a King
I met. No king so gentle and so wise.
He calls no man his subject; but his eyes,
In midst of benediction, questioning,
Each soul compel. A first-fruit offering
Each soul must owe to him whose fair land lies
Wherever God has His. No white dove flies
Too white, no wine too red and rich, to bring.
With sudden penitence for all her waste,
My soul to yield her scanty hoards made haste,
When lo! they shrank and failed me in that need,
Like wizard's gold, by worthless dust replaced.
My speechless grief the king with tender heed
Thus soothed: "These ashes sow. They are true
seed."
O King, in other summers may I stand
Before thee yet, the full ear in my hand."

Is it not possible that "H. H." got a hint for her poem "Two," from Emerson's "Hermione"? She would be quick to read the subtle paradox, the double

life, one in thoughts, another in things, which appears in much of the subsequent parts of "Hermione." Like "Hermione," the poem, "Two," reverses the meaning of presence and absence. It is *here* where the heart is, and a life of reverie and dreams is the real life. What if this life "in concepts" were a hundred times as palpable? Then the mind would be real and nature a dream.

This, then, hereafter is life to the lovers. The Arab lover has come to this, and hence the tender appeal:

"Say, was it just,
In thee to frame, in me to trust,
Thou to the Syrian couldst belong?"

"Higher, dear swallows! mind not what I say,"

he now tells his sympathetic friends. He does not need the low flights any longer. Hermione is with him again. Fate has no power within a world where the mind is its own place and makes its own persons and conditions. "Either really or ideally," says Emerson, "we live with superior persons." What would the exile do without this power?

(To be continued.)

CHARLES MALLOY.

Waltham, Mass.

THE BUILDING OF THE CITY BEAUTIFUL.*

BY JOAQUIN MILLER.

CHAPTER IX.

AWAITING THE RESURRECTION AT KARNAK.

LORN land of silence, land of awe!

Lorn, lawless land of Moslem will,—
The great Law-giver and the law
Have gone away together. Still
The sun shines on; still Nilus darkly red
Steals on between his awful walls of dead.

And sapphire skies still bend as when
Proud Karnak's countless columns propped
The corners of the world; when men
Kept watch where massive Cheops topped
Their utmost reach of thought, and sagely drew
Their star-lit lines along the trackless blue.

But Phthah lies prostrate evermore;
And Thoth and Neith all are gone;
And huge Osiris hears no more
Thebes' melodies; nor Mut at On;
Yet one lone obelisk still lords the spot
Where Plato sat to learn. But On is not.

Nor yet has Time encompassed all;
You trace your finger o'er a name
That mocks at age within the wall
Of fearful Karnak. Sword nor flame
Shall touch what men have journeyed far to touch
And felt eternity in daring such!

"Juda Melchi Shishak!" Read
The Holy Book; read how that he
With chariot and champing steed
Invaded far and fair Judea.
Ye, read the chronicle of red hands laid
On "shields of gold which Solomon had made."

* Begun in the December, 1904, issue.

HE WOULD look once more upon Upper Egypt through her eyes, and then away about his work. She was so infinitely above him that he could only clasp his hands and with lifted face worship her; he could worship her from afar as well as near at hand. He could not love her more, though he sat at her feet forever, and walked at her side even through the shadows of the valley of death. He would not, he could not, love her less though millions of miles away.

Did I forget to tell you that her singularly intense and perfect mentality took in and absorbed to herself the minds, the inmost thoughts of those who came in contact with her? She knew men's thoughts,—may I say it, with humbled head?—as Christ knew men's thoughts.

"There is a tomb, mighty tomb, not far from here,"—and this was at Karnak that she now spoke,—"which no man has entered since long, long before Christ came to Egypt, and this you should see."

She had been talking of his going, of his plans, his purposes,—talking to him in the same clear, sweet way as in Jerusalem and at Nazareth, that morning.

And yet he had said nothing at all of these things to her for a long time.

Knowing that she knew his heart, his hopes, his plans, how quietly good, patient, and true he had begun to grow! And why should he tell her anything, since she knew all and more than all that he could possibly find words to utter in all the centuries that are to be? Why shall time be wasted in helpless, inane, and angular words at all? Let us rather learn to read the soul in silence, and respect it.

Their boat was rocking on the Nile as night came on; and, as the boatmen slowly rowed for the sandy shore, which she had indicated with her hand as the place of the hidden tomb, she said to the man at her side, in her quiet and fragmentary way:

"Yes, Christ surely raised the dead. And do you not see that Egypt anticipated all that? She believed, she knew that some one would some day walk this way so full of the fires of life and immortality, so charged with that finer electricity which men call life, about which they talk so much but about which they know nothing at all, as yet,—that they laid their dead away ready to rise up in all their glory on earth after their long waiting for the Master."

More, much more, she said; and all so much more intelligently than what is here so imperfectly recalled and written down!

It was a woeful, grewsome spot of bone and stone, of sand and serpents, where they landed, and all tracked about with the tracks of wide-footed and enormous lions. And they had to stoop low, almost kneel, to enter the mouth of the cavern. There was no sign of man's hand or foot, although she had come to it as if walking a beaten road.

He had looked back and down to the men as he stooped to enter the gloomy cavern. The boatmen had anchored in the middle of the river.—were they afraid of lions? It was soon dark as they passed on and on in a stooping posture; but she

assured him that in a little time they would find the cavern lighted. With calm assurance she said that when the great founder of Babylon had been laid to rest there, thousands of years before, the walls were left lighted; no, not with electricity, but with a phosphorescent light that must endure while the Nile endures.

But it was wearisome, stooping and groping so long and so far. He began to fear that she had made some miscalculation and was lost. There were other and deeper passes and many tunnels that intersected this dark and narrow one. He could feel them as he groped forward after her,—feel them, not altogether with his hands, but with that other and finer feeling which she had, by example, begun to teach him. She paused, put out her hand, took his in hers for the first time since that first meeting in Jerusalem. But now her hand trembled,—it was almost cold. Had she indeed lost her way? Had she, with her superhuman knowledge and divine gifts, really lost her way in that awful wilderness of tombs? Had she at last lost her strength, her faith? Suddenly she stopped short, and said, "There is a lion in here."

The man tried to stand erect and take some attitude of defence, if only to encourage her. There was no room to rise erect.

But now her blood began to tide and flow again. Her hand was warm once more and her heart strong. "We will go forward," she said as she again led the way, "for to go back will be to invite destruction. He is not far away; I think he is waiting in one of the side passes. There!"

Her hand was again like ice, but only for a time. They stood leaning, looking forward in the fearful darkness at two glittering lights, round, full, flaming lights that broadened and brightened and gleamed and glowed with a fierceness, a hungry, animal fierceness that you could feel. It was something more than light, it was heat. It was heat that chilled,

turned you cold and froze you to the marrow. The man, although trained to the use of arms and not without address in danger, had, ever since coming into her higher atmosphere, and especially since that night up the Yellow Nile, despised their use; and so here he stooped and groped, as helpless and unmanned as a babe.

But her old faith came back, even as she looked into the burning fires before her, and with a pressure of her warm hand she led forward. The pass widened now and was roomier in every way. It soon became a sort of court, great columns of red and gray and blue granite propping the mountains above. On the outer edge of this court lay the huge lion, his nose on his paws, his eyes, his terribly beautiful eyes only, giving the least sign of life or action. But for those eyes of fire and flame, he, too, might have been counted as one of the thousand images that kept attendance on the great Babylonian who sat his throne in robes of state in the vast, wide court far beyond.

That distant inner court was still lighted, as she had said, after all the thousands of years; and there the mighty hunter of Babylon had sat his golden and marble and granite throne as time rolled by, resting and resting and serenely waiting the resurrection. The shapely columns, in all their comeliness and strength, stood out before the far-off light in stately splendor.

Miriam did not pause for one moment. She held the man's hand tight and close, to make certain that he, too, should keep right on as she might lead. The lion did not move; he did not even lift his eyes as they drew near. But suddenly his tail whipped slightly in the dust; then the woman led a little to the left, leaving a column between her path and the paws of the lion. The huge beast seemed pleased with this slight concession; and only noting that they kept straight on, knowing surely that there was but one way out and that he was thrown full length in the only path of exit, he awaited

results with that dignity which is born of boundless strength and absolute assurance. He could afford to wait just a little.

"Yes, here is faith for you; certainly of immortality on earth. Look! Nimrod, the mighty hunter, armed and ready for battle with beasts of the forest, as of old! He has only been resting here all these centuries, ready to rise up and begin life again just as he left off when he lay down to die; as we all shall."

She had forgotten the lion in this supreme moment to which she had looked forward so long, and, possibly at times, with some doubt. But she was now certain that Egypt had been not only the mother of all ancient civilization, but the mother of Babylon's founder and the burial-place of her mighty dead for ages.

Reverently she approached the foot of the lofty throne and kneeled on the polished red granite below, where reached the staff, the long beam of the hunter's spear, still clutched in his right hand, and ready for use when he should rise again.

How long they meditated there, in that soft and hallowed light and holy perfume of the past, no one can say. There are times that despise time, that throw time away as a drunken spendthrift throws coins away; and there is an intoxication of the soul and senses at times like this that puts the intoxication of the body, even from the rarest wines, to the blush.

Suddenly there was a low, slow, deep rumble. It seemed as if the cavern, or court of the kingly dead, began to rock, and roll, and shake and tremble; then a roar!

It rolled, bounded, echoed, rebounded, filled the place and all places, all the passes, got lost, could not find its way out, came back, bounded from wall to wall, from floor to ceiling, and finally went back and moaned and died in that lion's monstrous jaws and tawny mane.

He rose up, came forward, and then, as if he had only been jesting at first in a sort of suppressed whisper, he roared again, again and again.

Five steps of polished red granite of the throne of the mighty dead with spear in hand; but they made it at a single bound, she to the left and he to the right.

The man was about to pluck the spear from the dark and dusty hand and do battle for the woman he deified; but she looked him in the face across the face of the king, and he bowed his head and stepped back in silence, as her now burning hand reached further and fell familiarly on the outstretched left hand of the mighty hunter where it rested on the arm of the throne.

Was it a halo about her head? Was it divine fire that flamed from her burning hand? Nay, no questions. They cannot be answered here. We may only know that some subtle essence—fire? magnetism? electricity?—flowed and swept and shot from her hand, from her body, to his body. And then the mighty hunter was on his feet. As the lion laid his long, strong paw on the third step of the throne, with his tail whipped back in the air and his two terrible hinder legs bent low and gathered for a leap at the man's throat, the spear was in place; face to face stood the lion and his master, once more and at last after all these thousands of years! And the lion knew his master. He knew him only from tradition; but the story of his powers had come down to him with his very blood, and he knew his kingly master when he met him, even in the house of death.

Sullenly, slowly, and with a dignity worthy the occasion and the two mighty kings, the lion dragged, dragged, as if he had to drag it down by force, that great ponderous paw. It literally tore the granite, but he got it down. He got his eyes down from the eyes of the dead; and then sidewise, slowly, gracefully, grandly, with long and stately strides, only the quivering of his flanks telling of his anger, he bowed his head and left the court and crept from the fearful cavern. And when they had ceased to look and listen to make certain he was surely gone, the dead was sitting there as at first.

CHAPTER X.

THE VOICE OF TOIL.

COME, lean an ear, an earnest ear,
To Nature's breast, some stilly eve,
And you shall hear, shall surely hear
The Carpenter, and shall believe;
Shall surely hear, shall hear for aye, who will,
The patient strokes of Christ resounding still.

The thud of loom, the hum of wheel,
That steady stroke of Carpenter!
And was this all? Did God reveal
No gleam of light to Him, to her?
No gleam of hopeful light, sweet toiling friend,
Save that which burneth dimly at the end.

That beggar at the rich man's gate!
That rich man moaning down in hell!
And all life's pity, all life's hate!
Yea, toil lay on Him like a spell.
Stop still and think of Christ, of Mary there,
Her lifted face but one perpetual prayer.

I can but hope at such sore time,
When all her soul went out so fond,
She touched the very stars sublime
And took some sense of worlds beyond;
And took some strength to ever toil and wait
The glories bursting through God's star-built gate.

And He so silent, patient, sad,
As seeing all man's sorrows through!
How could the Christ be wholly glad
To know life's pathos as He knew,—
To know, and know that all the beauteous years
Man will waste in battle, blood, and tears?

Enough of antiquity, of dust, and of the dead; enough of speculation, enough of idleness. Turn we now to toil. Enough, and more than enough of the old; turn we now to the new,—to follow the stroke of the Carpenter's Son, the sound of Mary's loom, or the voice of the dove in the olive-trees.

But one word before bidding a long adieu to the old world and this strange, strong woman of the old.

I do not say or even suggest that she was the reincarnation of that Miriam who was made "leprous white" because of her anger with her brother when he married "the Ethiopian woman." I know nothing at all about such things. But I am permitted to believe that our business is with this world mainly, and with the things of this world; that other worlds have their own, and are and ought to be concerned mainly with their own; that it is a fact, and a very practical fact, that "the kingdom of heaven is at hand."

Immortality? Certain of it. But it is

here. Individuality in the next life? Certain of it, if a grain and not a husk. As no atom of earth perishes, so shall no soul perish or lose its personality. The real acorn, the real grain of wheat does not perish or lose its identity in dust. It is only the worthless grain and the husk and shell that passes back to the common mould.

So, then, if you want immortality, make it. If you want your soul saved, make it worth saving.

These thoughts, bear in mind, are not intruded upon any one, and are but timidly and feebly let fall here as "the still, small rain."

A LARGE solemnity like twilight, almost like night, had settled down on Miriam and the man also, on their return to the vicinity of Cairo. He knew that work was now before him, and he was glad of that. But would she be at his side? No toil could be weary where she was. There could be no rest, no light, no life, nothing for him, save his love for her, where she was not.

He tried to be very honest with himself, with her. But think it over as he might, recall each act and utterance, yet in all their intercourse he could find nothing on which to hang a hope that she would be with him to the end,—be his own. And then she was so silent, so sadly silent of late, all the time. True, she was not strong, strong of body; for as her soul grew strong her body grew weak. Even little threads of silver had wound themselves through her heavy meshes of midnight hair, and her glorious face was wan and pallid as the moonlight in which they sat by the deep-red Nile this last night in Egypt. But he loved her all the more for that. The more?—how could that have been? Let us say, with a tenderness that was new and holy.

But his heart was bursting for some sight, some sound. Would she let him go, and go on alone, with no assurance that she would follow and follow soon,—be with him in heart, and soul too, all the time?

He would put the matter to the test at once. As we have seen, he was not

given to words any more than was she.

"You know I love you, Miriam."

"I know."

"And you?"

Her two hands lifted up and pushed back the great mass of black hair from her fine, white face, and it came out to him like the moon of heaven, and with her face turned full to his she said, slowly, softly, and so very sweetly:

"I love you."

It was the first time she had spoken so.

The hands remained above and about the face, framing it like a face of the Madonna.

"You, you will be mine?"

"Yes."

"God bless you, Miriam, for that promise. But you know I go now to begin my work in the New World. When will you be mine? Where? At what time?"

"Time?" Her hands fell down and lay so heavily in her lap he dared not try to touch them, and she said, looking away beyond, as if at the ghost of Thebes and her hundred gates: "Time? Not in time,—eternity."

He sprang up and threw his arms tightly together across his breast.

"And this is your resolution?"

"Why, dare I be idly happy with all this misery on earth before me? Think of that blind woman with the three naked children yesterday in the street; she had the arms and the mummy-head of some ancestor, selling them for a bit of bread, here in fruitful Egypt! For them, no blame. They know no better. You and I know better. 'For unto whomsoever much is given, of him shall be much required.' The cross and the crown are bound together. Let us go our ways, help to make the crooked straight, and then, in some after life—"

Her voice was inaudible now. Her face sank low and was hidden from his sight; but he saw hot tears falling on her hand; and she was sacred and holy to him as if a halo had descended upon her.

Then she rose up slowly, her face still

bent down, and giving her two hands, said:

"Go; do your work, do good."

"And you?"

"I, I will come to you—sometime; but go, go now."

What a tower, what a pillar of fire was that promise: "I will come to you—sometime! Go, go now. I will come to you—sometime. Good-bye!"

It was a Nile night. To those who have lived by the Nile nothing more need be said to describe the sensuous scene and air. To those who have not dwelt there the description would be as idle as ungrateful. There were palm-trees in the ancient garden by which the lion-river crept in all his sinuous and supple splendor. The moon made little paths and patches and quivering mosaics of silver all up and down the sands to walk upon.

A boat with a single oarsman rocked and rested in the lotus leaves by the level bank above, and at the end of the garden a single nude, black boatman. It was a very quiet place. No boat had landed there in all the time they had lived here.

He turned away, passed down the garden with slow step, empty-handed, alone, and with one word "Good-bye" on his lips. They could not have uttered more than that one word. His resolution was almost failing him, for his heart was breaking. Then suddenly he turned about, flew back to her, threw out his hands and cried, "Good-bye, Miriam!"

Mechanically and slowly and with kindly eyes and half-parted lips, she took his outstretched hands in silence. He pulled her to him, pulled her violently, pressed her to his heart as his right hand swept swiftly about her body, pressed his lips to her proud lips as she struggled and as her head fell back in her effort to escape and then he set her hastily in her place and was gone.

Intensely, triumphantly beat his heart as he leaped into his boat, sped away, and hastened to embark for other lands. And long, long, as he voyaged away, he tried to believe, tried to hope, that there had been at least the faintest thrill of response, and that he had not been entirely a savage.

CHAPTER XI.

THE FOUNDATION STONES.

BE THOU not angered. Go thy way
From God's high altar to the low;
Nor think to kneel and truly pray,
Till thou art reconciled and know
Thou hast forgiven him; as thou must be
Forgiven of the sins that burthen thee.

And if thine eye tempt thee to shame
Turn thou aside; pluck it away!
And with thy right hand deal the same,
Nor tempt thy soul to sin this day.
Yea, thou art very weak. Thou couldst not make.
One hair turn white or black, for thine own sake.

And whosoever smite thy cheek,
Turn thou that he may smite again.
The truly brave are truly meek,
And bravely bear both shame and pain.
They slay, if truly brave men ever slay,
Their foes, with sweet forgiveness, day by day.

And if a man would take thy coat,
Give him thy cloak and count it meet.
Bread cast on waters can but float
In sweet forgiveness to thy feet;
So thou, by silent act like this, shalt preach
Such sermons as not flame nor sword can teach.

Lay not up treasures for yourselves
On earth, and stint and starve the soul
By heaping granaries and shelves
And high store-houses; for the whole
Of wealth is this: to grow and grow and grow
In faith; to know and ever seek to know.

Therefore give not too much of thought
For thy to-morrows. Birds that call
Sweet melodies sow not, reap not,
And yet the Father feedeth all.
Therefore toil trusting, loving; watch and pray.
And pray in secret; pray not long, but say:

Give us our daily bread this day,
Forgive our sins as we forgive,
Lead us not in temptation's way,
Deliver us, that we may live;
For thine the kingdom is, has ever been,
And thine the power, glory, and—Amen!

ON a huge mass of hills, hills heaped and banked and tumbled on top of hills by the great sea of seas, and above the Golden Gate, the man at last pitched his tent and began to build his city.

Water percolated through the broken rocks here and there and formed little pools, where poor, half-starved cattle and sheep had gathered for half a century and made dismal moan for provender as they trampled the rich, black mould into unsightly masses of mud.



F. Edwin Hewell, sculp.

"LITTLE NELL"

(See "Notes and Comments")



It was a doleful, grewsome place indeed, if you looked near about you or down into the mud. But to look up to the stars! To look down to the bay of San Francisco; look out through the Golden Gate on the great sea, to count the moving ships, to behold the fleets of snow-white clouds that drew in at the sunset from the Japan seas, to feel the keen, cool winds of Alaska in July! Ah, it was a glorious place if you could only keep your face toward the sea or up toward heaven, and your heart on your duty to man.

And what heaps of stone!—stones from the topmost peak of his hundred acres to the bottom limit of his possessions; stones enough for the material foundations of a large city indeed! As for its moral foundations, no city ever has been built, or ever can be built, to endure with any other than the precepts at the head of this chapter,—the Sermon on the Mount.

Of course it would have been a pleasant thing if this man could have chosen a rich valley by some great river, where commerce, in the spirit of the age, and enterprising people with quick discernment of advantage would come his way at once. It would be pleasant to write down the peace and rest and swift prosperity that would have followed such a choice of location. But we have ugly facts, not pleasant fancy, to confront and deal with now.

The man took the mountain-top, and at the cost of all he had saved in more than half a life-time, simply because a place in the valley was not to be had for what he had to give.

"All the better," he said. "If I succeed on these steep and heaps of stone, the greater good and the braver will be my lesson to the world. The main thing is to teach and to prove that all men are good or trying to be good; and that all the world and all things in it are beautiful or trying to be beautiful. I shall plant roses here where I find thorns, trees where I find thistles; and if I can make this most barren and most unsightly of all places on earth beautiful, my example

will not be lost." And his heart was all the time with *Her*, and all the time he kept saying over and over her last words: "I will come to you—sometime."

His heap of steep hills sloped to the sun and the sea; but back in the rear a deep and wooded and watered canyon bent like a scimitar and shut out all the world behind him. It was a wild and a glorious place; wolves, catamounts, hosts of wild creatures housed there, to say nothing of the birds that sang and reared their pretty broods in the red-wood groves and groves of madrona, willow, and bay-trees. But he built his little house out in the sun with the Golden Gate in sight, and here he began to plant trees, and to plant and to plant and to plant. He would first make it attractive, and then invite thinkers, poets, men of mind who had a mind to rest, to come and sit down and share it with him; then the world would see and learn and live. Then *She* would come! And why did he begin and toil on so entirely alone? He did not begin alone; or did not propose to do that at first.

He had found, after much care, a small party of men with purposes not unlike his own. But when it came to the toil, the privations, the weary prospect of long waiting for roads to be built, for trees to grow up and bear fruit, for the world to come that way and admire and praise, they melted away, one after one, and went down to the city by the sea and left him all alone. It would be tedious, even if it would be credible, to tell how terribly hard he toiled. But there was fierce excitement in closing in and making clean the muddy springs of water, in training the pure, trickling streams down the tortuous new roadside where roses were newly set by the newly built wall. To see the response of the roses! real gratitude indeed! And then the down-trodden grass—how glad it was to lift up its head after forty years!

But then at last he must have help. He could earn money in various little ways, and would employ some one to

help him in his persistent toil. But whom?

When we employ a man we must not think entirely of ourselves. We must think of his good as well as our own. He needs this consideration.

From far across San Pablo bay, the lights from the watch-towers of the penitentiary shot sharp and continuously in at the door of our silent city-builder. This vexed him sorely at first. It made him miserable to think of the misery there when he so needed rest.

But at last his soul ascended to the duty before it. He went to the prison warden and engaged that each month he should send him the first discharged convict who desired work. The first to come was a poor drunkard. It was not quite an ideal life, this sleeping in the same little cottage with an illiterate drunkard. True, the poor, sullen inebriate did not know that his history was known to the city-builder, but still he was ugly and cross. He did not like the place; and so he soon disappeared, taking what he could lay hands on.

The next was a bright young man who had been a book-keeper, and stolen money from his employer.

Thinking his history unknown, he frankly told it the first night. They became friends. When he drew his first wages he went down into the city, into the sea, as it were, and was drowned,—drowned first in alcohol and then found dead in the bay.

The third was a witless man and an honest man, who insisted on telling his story, hat in hand, before he would sit down. He had been convicted of stealing cattle, and did not assert his innocence till he stood with his month's wages in his hand to set out for the gold mines of Alaska.

Taken altogether, these experiments were in no way fruitless nor discouraging. Now and again he wrought entirely alone. And as he toiled, he took the three convicts and their conduct under the closest consideration. And the prayer of Jesus Christ, the one prayer, as taught him by

that clear-eyed woman from the gates of Jerusalem, kept in his mind and before him always: "Lead us not into temptation! Lead us not into temptation! Lead us not into temptation!"

He had tempted the first unhappy convict to fall. The poor, weak-minded, and sullen man could not resist the temptation to take the man's horse and ride away in the night. He was, then, himself the guilty man.

As for the second man, he, too, had been tempted,—tempted even to his death by Society and the State.

As for the third man, no better man could have been found.

By this time vultures began to gather around and sit on the rocks. They said: "This man with his non-resistance and turn-the-other-cheek must fail, die; and some one must pick his bones."

This was an ugly fact, but who was to blame? "Be ye wise as serpents, but as harmless as doves."

Would a really wise man have come forward and publicly and continuously declared, in the midst of a people who were devoted entirely to money-getting, that he would give to the man who took his coat, his cloak also?

He was tempting some weak men beyond their power to resist. He was literally calling out to the vultures to come from the four parts of the world and wait on the rocks and crags for him to die, when they should gorge on his remains.

People came and went as the years went by,—some queer people, some curious people, and some good people; or rather some people who had had better fortune, better opportunities to be good than those who are called bad.

"Now, look here!" said an honest and observing man one day to the city-builder, digging on his hill, "all this that you are trying to do has been done before, or at least attempted. You are, perhaps, a good man, a very good man; but you are not the only good man that has been. You may build and build, but the sea of selfishness will roll over your city and all

your enterprises here when you die, before you can be carried to the grave."

This had been said in answer to his complaints about the vultures that continually hovered around. He had, in his distress, cried out to this good man, and said:

"In the olden time the ravens fed the prophets; but now it seems to me that the prophets must feed not only the ravens, but the vultures also."

And it must be conceded that he had the most substantial reasons for complaining.

For example: A stout German, whose lands shut him out from the city, nailed up his road, and demanded an acre of land for the right of way. The man gave him a deed for three acres. But this is only one example of his folly and the persistence of the vultures, and we hasten on.

And yet these people on this mountain-side were in some sense better than those in the valley below, and those in the valley below were better than those in the city beyond.

How pitiful, how piteously pitiful it all is, as things now are! This man, worn out at last, bodily and mentally, sat down and tried to see light beyond. There was no light to be seen. He saw that he would ultimately be ground to dust between the hard and selfish elements that environed him. He might carry his experiments forward to the end of his own natural life; he might not be crucified before his time to die; yet he foresaw clearly that his very dust and ashes would be divided among those about him at his death, and all his hopes and plans and persistent toil of body and mind would be as if he had never been.

He began to search the book of Nature for some possible solution of the hard problem before him; and he began to see that Nature had in some way or other protected whatever she wished to perpetuate. Even the timid rabbit, that sat with wide eyes and large ears under the trees which he had planted on his hill-

sides, was not neglected. His coat turned gray each season as the grass turned gray; and when the winter approached, with a sprinkle of snow on the hillside, the keen-eyed hawk that looked down out of the snow-cloud above saw that the rabbit had a new coat as white as the snows about him, and that it required the keenest of keen eyes to distinguish him from the tufts of grass and snow.

"Yet I," said the man to himself, "with all the lessons of Nature before me, have dared to lay my breast bare to all men; and they have pierced me through and through."

One day a small man, with a gray beard, came up the hill meekly washing his hands, and in a mild and sympathetic voice said:

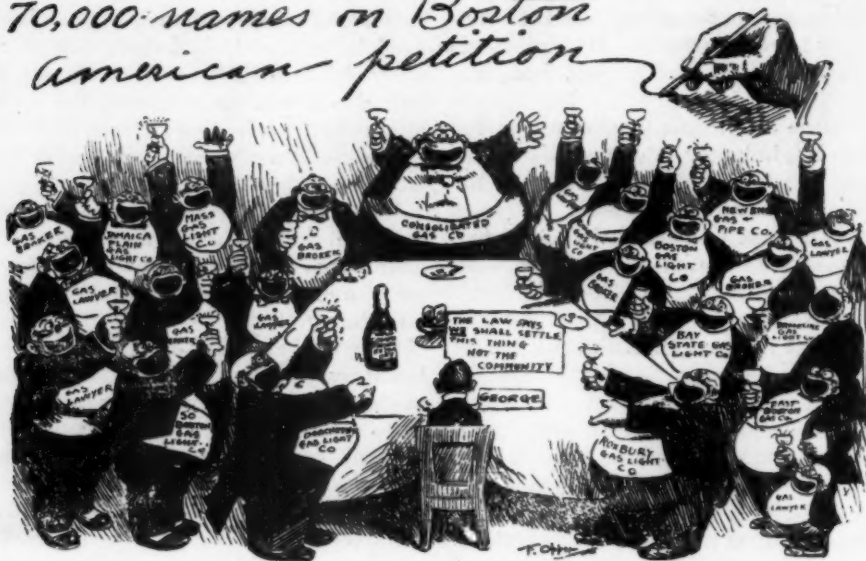
"You seem discouraged. Let me assist you. I have watched you and your work with the deepest interest, and now that you seem so weary I have come to save you. Yes, I am a real-estate agent. There are too many real-estate agents in the town,—three hundred of them. There are nearly two hundred lawyers; there are more than fifty preachers; there are twice as many doctors,—all living on a small city. But I have come to save you. I will sell some of your land. This will give you money to go ahead. I have your permission?"

The small, gray man had not paused for an answer, nor did he wait for a single word, but again washing his hands and smiling again his sickly smile, and still talking on in a soft and sympathetic tone, he crept backward, and crawled like a serpent down the hill to sell the land.

Now, there is nothing in this incident worth telling. The only excuse for it is the ugly truth that these idle, cunning men, made desperate by competition, are crowding every city, and plying their trade to the very verge of crime,—most miserable themselves and making others miserable. What a jar of Egyptian vipers is the heart and soul of a city to-day!

(To be continued.)

70,000 names on Boston
American petition



(Reproduced by special permission of W. R. Hearst.)

Gas Commissioner George's Declaration Against the Right of the People to Be Heard in the Gas Trust Capitalization Proceedings Is Received with Great Enthusiasm in Some Quarters, but Mr. George Should Not Permit the Excitement to Cause Him to Overlook the Handwriting on the Wall.



IN THE HANDS OF HIS FRIENDS.

A political cartoon by F. O. Matthiessen. A large, gloved hand reaches down towards a money bag labeled '\$6000,000'. The hand wears a wristband that reads 'PERMANENT INJUNCTION' and a cuff that reads 'GAS TRUST'. The background is dark and textured.

STOPPED!



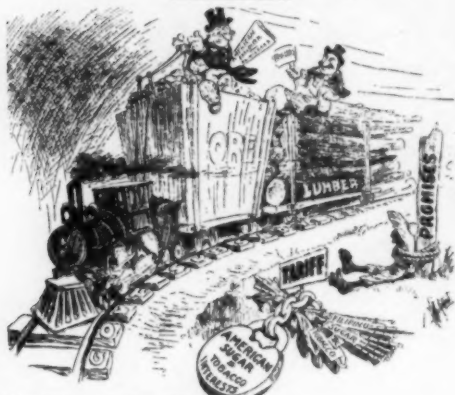
J. Benvenuti
Bengough, in *The Public*, Chicago.
"GRAFT."

Will the Modern Hercules Conquer?



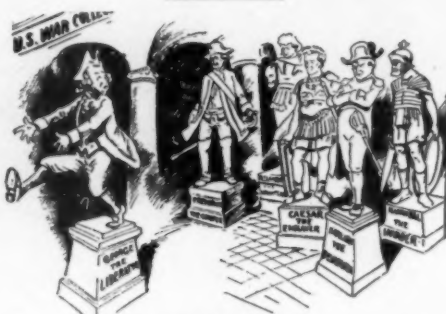
De Mar, in *Philadelphia Record*.

THE "LIBERATION" OF THE RUSSIAN PRESS.



Goldsmith, in *Boston Herald*.

BEING GOOD TO THE FILIPINOS.



Leipziger, in the *Detroit News*.

WHEN ALL THE STATUES ARRIVE.

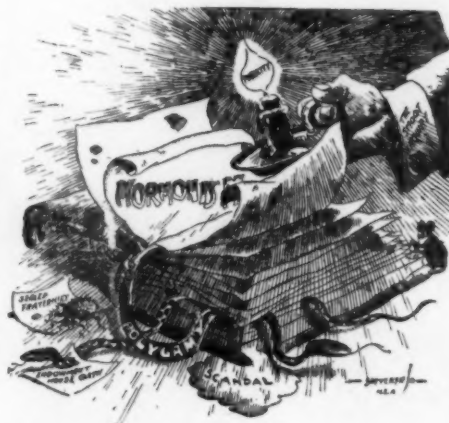
GEORGE W.—"Great Scott, what kind of company is this!"



Maybell, in *Brooklyn Eagle*.

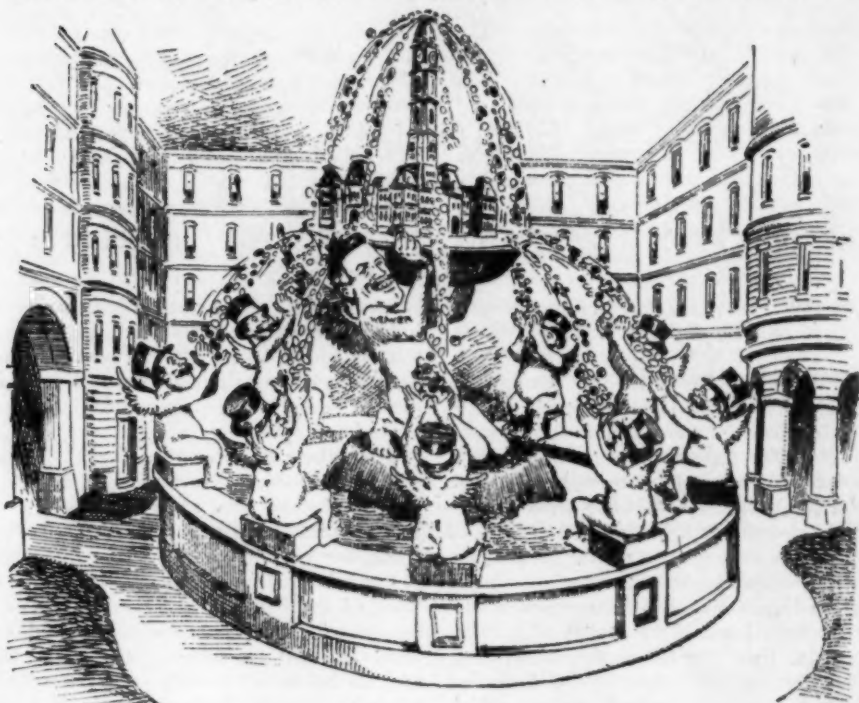
FRENZIED!

Is the S. P. C. A. Neglecting its Duty?



Satterfield, in *Nashville News*.

ABOUT TIME THIS BOOK WAS OPENED AND AIRED.



De Mar, in Philadelphia Record.

SUGGESTED DESIGN FOR THE PROPOSED PHILADELPHIA CITY-HALL COURTYARD FOUNTAIN.



Barth Dismew, in Minneapolis Journal.

THE TROUBLE JUST NOW IS ON HIS LITTLE INSIDE



Walker, in Ann Arbor Argus.

THE CZAR—"Gracious! You look worse to me than the Japs."

EDITORIALS.

ARE OUR PEOPLE ENJOYING "NOTEWORTHY PROSPERITY"?

I. A POPULAR FALLACY THAT TENDS TO ENSLAVE THE PEOPLE.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT in opening his message to Congress said: "The nation continues to enjoy noteworthy prosperity." This statement challenges serious consideration, for perhaps there has been no greater single influence that has acted so as to drug the popular imagination into a sense of false security necessary to render possible the rapid growth and continuance of prevailing unjust and oppressive abuses in our commercial and economic life and the growth of political corruption, than the thoughtless acceptance on the part of the people of old fallacious saws and cunningly devised phrases which are either wholly or partially false, but which are adroitly and plausibly presented by upholders of privilege, reaction and a political oligarchy that is dependent upon the financial support of a commercial feudalism a large proportion of whose unearned wealth has been acquired by privilege granted through legislation or the permission to water stock, inflate securities, deceive the people and gamble with loaded dice. The catch-phrases invented by the special pleaders for privileged classes and reactionary and un-American ideals are echoed and reëchoed by the shallow, superficial and unthinking until they are accepted as truisms, and under their protection predatory wealth, class-interests and reactionary elements advance from one vantage-ground to another. In this cry about the increasing prosperity of our people that has been shouted from the house-tops so frequently of late years, and which the President now places as the first dogmatic declaration of his message as something to be taken for granted, we find one of these misleading phrases that serve to work great evil by lulling the people into a sense of security that is unwarranted, and at a time

when the weal of the nation no less than the independence, prosperity and happiness of the individual demand that alertness and aroused determination that are vitally important when in the presence of subtle and powerful dangers.

That there are certain classes who are prosperous to-day goes without question, as is ever the case, even when a nation is in the most unprosperous and miserable condition. Thus, for example, France under the reign of Louis XIV., from the meridian period to the close of the life of that monarch, appeared to the superficial observer acquainted only with the court or observing the nation from afar, as being marvelously prosperous. Certainly the Grand Monarch, as the historians and apologists for despotism and reaction love to call this king, enjoyed all the pleasures and luxuries which money could procure. The luxurious, sensual and dissolute court was prosperous. The treasury was able to wring blood-money from the masses sufficient to enable the government to conduct great and costly wars and to bribe politicians and rulers in other lands. But the condition of the nation was the reverse of prosperous. The people were desperately poor. Tens of thousands were miserable beyond description, —the prey of privilege and the throne. The wretchedness and misery of the poor of this time were little heeded by the aristocracy and the ruling classes; and yet this so-called glorious reign of Louis XIV. rendered the French Revolution well-nigh inevitable.

II. WHO ARE THE VERY PROSPEROUS?

To-day we have certain limited classes that are marvelously prosperous, as has ever been the case in monarchies and class-ruled lands. But while our nation is unquestionably a wonderfully rich land, a country that

creates an enormous amount of wealth, the exceptionally prosperous condition of the very limited class is due chiefly to exceptional advantages, owing to unearned increment, legally-protected privilege and monopoly rights, and the power to gamble with loaded dice, by which the wealth that might make the nation or the people as a whole prosperous is diverted into a few pockets. Thus, for example, a vast stream of gold is steadily flowing into the coffers of William Waldorf Astor in his English home from unearned increment wrung from the dwellers of New York, because he is enjoying monopoly in land the value of which *society* is annually enormously increasing. Or again: certain coteries are acquiring millions of unearned money through inflation or stock-watering and gambling with loaded dice. Mr. Lawson has graphically and circumstantially described the methods by which fictitious wealth is created and the most pernicious form of gambling has been fostered in our land by the ultra-respectable and conventionally pious, in his portrayal of the course of the Standard Oil magnates in obtaining, foisting on the people and manipulating Amalgamated Copper. Mr. Rogers and William Rockefeller, by the aid of some friends, secured the copper properties that made up the Amalgamated for a cost of \$39,000,000. This they capitalized for \$75,000,000, or \$36,000,000 above its cost and value. Here the public were led to believe that a property that cost \$39,000,000 had an actual value of \$75,000,000, being entirely ignorant of the fact that \$36,000,000 was a fictitious creation. The next step taken was to inflame the public imagination and stimulate the lust for gold by pictures of fabulous fortunes to be won by the possession of this stock which was said to represent such inestimably rich properties. And then followed that game so well known to the great gamblers of Wall street who ever play with loaded dice. The stock was pushed up to \$100, and then borne down far below its opening price. Next it was raised to \$130, only to be thrown down to \$33, while at the going and the coming the master-spirits reaped their golden harvest. And this example, as Mr. Lawson points out, is purely typical of methods pursued in Wall street to-day.

Now these masters of fictitious dollars and great gamblers who play with loaded dice in Wall street are doubtless prosperous.

Then there are the magnates that control the people's highways and who, through watering stock, wrecking roads, charging exorbitant freight-rates, giving secret rebates and conspiring with other powerful organizations to destroy small competitors and place producers and consumers entirely at their mercy, are also prosperous. So with other public-service monopolies, like the telegraph and telephone, down to the various municipal monopolies such as electricity, gas and the street-railways. The magnates who control such monopolies and public utilities are also prosperous. So are the heads of certain trust interests, like the steel-trust, for example, where legal privilege and protection are given by which the American citizens are being deliberately plundered of from six to eleven dollars a ton in excess of what the same monopoly charges the citizens of Canada and England for the same material. They, too, are prosperous. But how? By extortion; by taking the hard earnings of American users of iron, who in turn are compelled to charge higher prices to the producing and consuming public to cover this extortion rendered possible by tariff protection.

Then there are the political bosses and machine politicians, as well as secret agents of predatory and corporation interests in the municipal, legislative and national governments, who become rich in a short time and on comparatively modest salaries. Besides these there are certain well-organized and skilled workers in some trades who have been able to almost if not quite meet the increased expenses of living by the increase they have succeeded in securing from the masters of the bread, but these are very limited in number. Certain of the government officials also enjoy salaries and courtesies that doubtless enable them to feel prosperous.

But all these favored ones are a pitiful minority in this nation. They are as the king, court and nobility of France in the days of Louis the Grand compared with the masses. Clearly they cannot be said to be the nation. Nor does a prosperity that depends on wealth acquired through unearned increment, or on the dollars representing no wealth, such as the thirty-six million "made" or acquired dollars referred to above in the matter of the Amalgamated, which is purely typical of the watered-stock abuse that has been so odious a feature of American corporations and especially of the public-service companies, or yet on the money

acquired by interests which through protection are enabled to extort millions of dollars from American citizens in excess of what the purchasers of the same commodities in foreign lands pay the same producers, represent national prosperity. Far from it. It merely represents the ominous centralization of wealth earned by others or diverted through fraud and indirection into the hands of the cunning and unscrupulous few, presenting a phenomenon which reminds us in a startling manner of the prophecy of Charles Fourier, made a century ago in his *Theory of Social Organizations*, when he predicted that "vast giant stock-companies, destined to monopolize and control all branches of industry, commerce and finance," would "establish an industrial and commercial despotism that would control society by the power of capital, as did the old baronial or military feudalism by the power of the sword" and "by monopoly in land."

Clearly no valid claim to national prosperity can rest on the prosperity of small classes, especially when due to such causes.

III. THE PROSPERITY OF A PEOPLE.

It is obviously a pitiful begging of the question to try and justify the claims to national prosperity by pointing to the fact that conditions are somewhat better to-day than at periods of extreme depression such as periodically overtake all nations through combinations of causes,—such, for example, as our people experienced early in the 'nineties. The criterion by which we must judge the prosperity of a nation is the general trend of life and conditions from generation to generation. When we find that each year the number of unencumbered homes is relatively increasing; when the children of the land are better and better conditioned in clothing and food and in the enjoyment of school privileges and that environment that is absolutely essential to the permanency of free institutions in their purity; when we find ever-increasing conditions favoring home-building and no considerable number of women and little ones being driven into factories and mills in order to earn a bare livelihood; when evictions are becoming year by year less frequent; when there are relatively few human beings who are buried in the Potter's Field; when the great majority of the laborers are moving up from conditions of poverty and

dependence to conditions of independence; and when such conditions represent the general course or trend of the life of a nation when taken for a period of a generation, for example, then we are warranted in saying that the people are prosperous, or that the nation enjoys "noteworthy prosperity."

But if the general trend of life for a period of thirty or fifty years is in an opposite direction; if, for example, in considering our present conditions in the light of the trend of events for the past half or quarter of a century, we find that the above conditions do not obtain, the claim that we are notably prosperous is unwarranted.

IV. THE OPTIMISM OF IGNORANCE AND ITS GROUNDLESS CLAIMS.

It is an unfortunate fact that our nation has never made any serious attempt to collect data or statistics by which it would be possible to accurately estimate the number of persons who are "unable to obtain the necessities which will permit them to maintain a state of physical efficiency"; nor have we figures of pauperism or the great army who, after hanging for a time on the verge of the precipice, have fallen into the depths where self-respecting manhood is lost—the slum-dwellers, the professional tramps, and those who by choice seek to live without work; and the absence of these facts makes it possible for those whose "optimism is born of ignorance or lack of real concern" to sneer at the mature conclusions of those whose long personal contact with the poor and whose careful study of their conditions at close range entitles them to speak with authority. It has been the custom with those who are lulling the people into a false and fatal sense of security to denounce and ridicule the statement that the rich are growing richer and the poor poorer. Many of the defenders of the "system" or advocates and apologists for the present trust and monopolistic domination of government systematically deride every reformer and conscientious student of social conditions who points out the extent of poverty and misery in our midst. The attitude of the upholders of the "system" is precisely the same as that assumed by conventional economists and those who opposed all radical constructive programmes of progress in England a few years ago. Whenever a thoughtful reformer would point out the fact that the social conditions were bad, the

editorial, professional or educational authorities would hasten to show that the facts advanced were false or misleading and all evidence to show that poverty was anything like so general as was claimed, was absurd. So long as there was no absolute data, these advocates of things as they are persisted in brushing aside facts which clearly indicated the soundness of the reformer's position, while with an assumed authority for which there was no just warrant they asserted the contrary to be the case. At last, however, Mr. Charles Booth undertook his colossal work of ascertaining in an authoritative manner the actual condition of the people in London, so as to find out what relative proportion of the population were in poverty,—that is, were under-clothed, under-fed and compelled to live in unsanitary dwellings, or who were receiving so little remuneration that it was impossible to maintain physical efficiency. The result of his exhaustive investigations showed that in the great British metropolis there were 1,300,000 persons in a condition of either poverty or abject want. Thirty per cent. of the whole population, it was shown, were thus in the poverty stratum. Mr. Booth's work was so complete, so clear, detailed and convincing in character, that the advocates of things as they are could no longer sneer at or ridicule the facts out of court. But while admitting that the showing was very bad, they hastened with multitudinous explanations to explain that conditions in London were exceptional. It was the greatest city of the world; poverty always sought the great centers; the slums of a large city were always tending to increase because of the driftwood that came from other centers. But they maintained that such conditions did not and could not exist in other cities throughout the realm. A few years ago, however, Mr. B. S. Rountree made his thorough investigation in York, following the line pursued by Mr. Booth, with the result that the showing revealed that twenty-seven per cent. of the people of that city were in a condition of poverty. Since then the conventional apologists have had little to say on that subject; but with us they yet persist with their general assertions of growing prosperity while seeking to discredit all those who show the appalling extent of tragic conditions present on every side, due to economic inequality and the pressure of poverty.

V. SOME SIGNIFICANT FACTS BEARING ON THE PROSPERITY QUESTION.

There are certain facts that cannot fail to prove disquieting to patriotic Americans and which tend to discredit the claims of those who insist that we are prosperous. The census reports prove that the unencumbered homes of the nation are not increasing in anything like the proportion of the increase in population during the past thirty years, nor are the unencumbered homes increasing in anything like the proportionate increase during the preceding generation. There is going on a constant and an alarming concentration of wealth in the hands of an ever-narrowing class, and a consequent increase in the number of dependent ones,—a concentration that startlingly suggests the conditions that prevailed after the overthrow of the Gracchi in Rome, when the imperial and patrician class rapidly absorbed the landed estates of Italy, rendering the masses of the erstwhile independent Roman citizens and especially the cultivators of the soil of Italy more and more dependent. In many sections of our land during the last two decades great landed estates have taken the place formerly occupied by numerous small farms, and the farmers in many instances have become tenants. In the cities the number of those who own homes, and especially unencumbered homes, is alarmingly small in proportion to the number of families occupying tenements. This is in part due to causes other than that of diminishing financial ability on the part of the inhabitants, which render it impossible for them to own homes within a distance accessible to their places of business. But there can be no question but what a very large proportion of the tenant population of to-day are renters because their financial conditions are growing less rather than more substantial and prosperous as the years pass.

The following figures taken from the census report for 1900 (Vol. II., page 205) are as significant as they are disquieting to those who understand that a nation's greatness so largely depends upon the number of those who possess homes in which they take a natural pride:

	Free.	Mortgaged.	Rented.
Allegheny, Pa.....	4,021	2,324	18,983
Baltimore, Md.....	19,286	6,960	69,761
Boston, Mass.....	9,944	10,395	89,083

	Free.	Mortgaged.	Rented.
Buffalo, N. Y.....	10,965	11,844	47,298
Chicago, Ill.....	39,246	43,735	258,532
Cincinnati, Ohio.....	9,725	4,915	56,384
Cleveland, Ohio.....	16,240	12,246	48,844
Columbus, Ohio.....	4,445	3,204	17,822
Denver, Colo.....	5,000	3,114	21,215
Detroit, Mich.....	12,378	9,172	35,178
Fall River, Mass.....	1,473	2,098	16,711
Indianapolis, Ind.....	6,741	5,832	25,004
Jersey City, N. J.....	4,569	3,729	34,060
Kansas City, Mo.....	4,501	3,774	26,466
Los Angeles, Cal.....	5,969	3,743	12,745
Louisville, Ky.....	8,361	2,692	31,640
Memphis, Tenn.....	2,676	607	15,851
Milwaukee, Wis.....	9,541	11,278	37,466
Minneapolis, Minn.....	6,287	4,903	28,522
Newark, N. J.....	4,415	6,517	41,270
New Haven, Conn.....	2,413	3,598	16,722
New Orleans, La.....	10,634	1,698	45,129
New York City and boroughs.....	35,050	48,002	617,474
New York City proper..	8,948	13,938	384,349
Omaha, Neb.....	3,127	2,113	13,941
Paterson, N. J.....	2,016	3,088	17,285
Philadelphia, Pa.....	29,033	24,013	106,124
Pittsburg, Pa.....	9,041	7,178	44,364
Providence, R. I.....	4,087	3,708	29,696
Rochester, N. Y.....	6,001	6,289	20,481
St. Joseph, Mo.....	3,062	1,352	11,080
St. Louis, Mo.....	16,097	9,699	90,983
St. Paul, Minn.....	5,556	2,851	20,266
San Francisco, Cal.....	10,186	5,139	49,656
Scranton, Pa.....	4,600	2,583	12,129
Syracuse, N. Y.....	4,082	5,115	15,459
Toledo, Ohio.....	6,793	4,990	15,851
Washington, D. C.....	8,441	4,261	40,753
Worcester, Mass.....	2,055	3,907	17,877

Here is another fact to be considered in this connection. Our manufacturing monopolies formerly asked for a protective tariff that would enable them to manufacture goods in this country and pay a good living wage to the men employed. The protection would prevent Europe from selling manufactures to the millions of America at a much lower rate; so the protection asked was essentially a tax on the whole consuming population, and it was made chiefly on the plea that they wished to maintain a living wage for the head of the family—a wage sufficient to enable the workman to comfortably support his wife and young and to give his children the benefits of that popular education which was held to be so essential to the permanence and greatness of democracy. This protection was granted, and in time the protected interests became so rich and powerful that they felt they could control legislation. What next? To-day we have in the United States about two million women employed in factories and mills, where they

have largely displaced the men for whose protection and interest the protected manufacturers were once so clamorous. But this is not the worst. There are to-day "over 1,700,000 little children who are forced to become wage-earners when they should be at school." And the defence which the protected interests make, whenever and wherever attempts are made to restore to the child the right to his freedom and his education, is that the poverty of the families make the labor of the children necessary. Thus we see that first the people were taxed by an enormous tariff levied ostensibly to enable the manufacturers to pay the laborers a sufficient wage to keep the family comfortable and enable the children to be schooled; next the men were gradually displaced in many places to make room for women, because female help could be employed at a much cheaper figure; and now the upholders of the "system" demand the further tribute of 1,700,000 child slaves to displace the fathers and mothers and enable a few more fortunes to rise at the expense of the prosperity, comfort, happiness and education of the many. And the chief plea advanced by the men who cry "Prosperity," as it is also of every legislator who is the mouthpiece of the protected interests, is that conditions are such that the children's work is necessary to keep the families from starvation.

There are, however, other evidences of the presence of wide-spread poverty in our midst that help to show the hollowness of the claim of the upholders of the "system." In the Borough of Manhattan in the year 1903 there were 60,463 families evicted from their homes. "This is," says Mr. Robert Hunter in his invaluable new work on *Poverty*, "about fourteen per cent. of the whole number of families in the borough." Another most impressive indication of the extent of poverty, want and misery in our greatest and most opulent metropolis, which Mr. Hunter emphasizes, is the fact that "one in every ten persons who die in New York is buried at public expense in Potter's Field." And our author truly observes in this connection: "Every one familiar with the poor knows how desperately they struggle to give a decent burial to their dead. A poor person will resort to almost any means in order to prevent a member of his or her family having a pauper burial, or, as they say, 'lying in a pauper's grave.' Even the poorest people have friends, politicians or

others, who save them, if possible, from this last disgrace."

Mr. Hunter also cites at length the statistics of relief extended in New York and elsewhere to the suffering, to show the extent of misery in our populous centers; while as a careful student of the question, who has spent years in charity work and in the university settlements of Chicago, New York and other cities, he gives his opinion in regard to the extent of poverty in the United States in the following language:

"I should not be at all surprised if the number of those in poverty in New York, as well as in other large cities and industrial centers, rarely fell below twenty-five per cent. of all the people."

His mature judgment based on intimate knowledge of poverty in this country, and obtained from exhaustive investigations and personal work, is expressed in these words: "I have not the slightest doubt that there are in the United States ten million persons in precisely these conditions of poverty," and he adds, "there may be as many as fifteen or twenty million." Thus he places as the minimum of those in poverty ten million of a population of eighty million.

Can a nation with almost inexhaustible material resources be said to be prosperous when those resources are so largely unavailable for the wealth creators by reason of land monopolization and the private ownership of public utilities, which through excessive fares, rates, etc., discourages suburban life or the development of lands remote from markets, and which is placing the millions of wealth-creators more and more at the complete mercy of small privileged groups or classes?

Another fact which indicates that however prosperous are the trust-magnates and privileged-interests, the condition of a very large proportion of the people is not so favorable as it was, say six or seven years ago, is that the cost of living since the trusts have monopolized most of the necessities of life and have arbitrarily raised prices is far greater than the increase in wages where wages have increased, while with a very large class there has been no increase in incomes. Thus the professional classes, such as clergymen, doctors, school-teachers, etc., and a large number of those working on salaries, have experienced

little or no increase in income since 1897; yet according to Dun's figures as given in the index for November 1, 1904, the estimated annual cost of living for a family of five was \$497.15, or \$134.88 more than the cost for the same family at the prices which obtained July 1, 1897. Here we have more than thirty-seven per cent. increase in the cost of living. How many Americans, outside of the privileged classes, are receiving thirty-seven per cent. more income or wages than in 1897? A man who made \$2.00 a day July 1, 1897, would have to make \$2.74 a day now to earn enough to live as he lived on \$2.00 a day in 1897. It is true that in certain trades that are well organized wages have been materially increased during the past five or six years, but the number of favored ones as compared with the number of those who have enjoyed but slight if any increase is comparatively small. Finally, no student of present-day political life in our municipalities, our states or our national government can, we think, fail to realize the fact that predatory wealth and corporate interests, or the "system," as it has been aptly characterized, are on every hand preventing the people from enjoying that measure of justice and equality of rights and opportunities that is absolutely essential to a truly prosperous people. The sweep of life for the many must necessarily be downward under conditions that make the representatives of monopolies, trusts and great corporations prosperous through the acquisition of unearned wealth or the wealth earned by others. We cannot be prosperous in any true sense of the term while the conditions prevail which Mr. Hunter thus graphically characterizes in his recent work:

"The real cause of our present errors of judgment in this matter lies in the corruption of our political institutions. The business and property interests have bought the bosses of our political machinery, and at present our laws are made and enforced in the interest of the owners. When the shame of our cities is notorious; when state and national governments are in the hands of corrupt politicians, owned by corporate interests; when 'the laws which should preserve and enforce all rights are made and enforced by dollars'; when 'it is possible . . . with dollars to "steer" the selection of the candidates of both the great parties for the highest

office in our Republic, . . . so that the people, as a matter of fact, must elect one of the "steered" candidates; when 'it is possible to repeat the operation in the selection of candidates for the executive and legislative conduct and control of every state and municipality in the United States, and with a sufficient number of dollars to "steer" the doings of the law-makers and law-enforcers of the national, state and municipal governments of the people, and a sufficient proportion of the court decisions to make absolute any power created by such direction'; when the country is being daily betrayed by the 'enemies of the republic,'—it seems utopian to appeal to these powers to do justice to their workers. This may seem a dark view to take of our political institutions, but, considering the great mass of evidence accumulated in the last few years, it is surely warranted. So far as the problem of poverty is concerned, we can perhaps hope for little in the way of justice or reform during the next few years. For, by the help of this corruption, reform is fought at three stages: in the legislature, in the courts, and at the time of its enforcement.

"In consequence of this temporary perversion of our democratic institutions pessimism runs high. Professor Franklin H. Giddings, our most distinguished sociologist, says: 'We are witnessing to-day, beyond question, the decay—perhaps not permanent, but at any rate the decay—of republican institutions. No man in his right mind can deny it.'"

Mr. Hunter is correct in regard to the immediate causes of the conditions which make for poverty; but behind and beyond these causes is the violation of the fundamental laws upon which a true democracy must rest, a disregard for equality of opportunities and of rights, or the just interests of all the citizens, that has made the present conditions possible. Behind the vast corruption funds, behind the corruptors and the corrupted, is the privilege that made and makes corruption possible. Monopoly in land, extortionate protection, monopoly of public utilities, and the moral sanction of state and society given to the most iniquitous form of gambling known to civilization—the gambling with loaded dice as it is practiced by all the great combinations of Wall-street magnates and speculators when they make their great moves,—these and

kindred abuses that are fundamentally undemocratic, inherently unjust and inimical to free institutions, have rendered the reign of corruption and graft, of class enrichment and the spoliation of the millions, facts so notorious that they can no longer be sneered at or successfully denied. The evil consequences resulting from statesmen, publicists and editors lulling the people to sleep by fallacious cries of prosperity and other catch-phrases framed to drug the public imagination, must be apparent to all thoughtful men and women, for they are anesthetizing the public mind while the "system" is making its position more and more impregnable and is also wringing from the wealth-creators more and more of what they produce while levying from the consumers exorbitant taxes on what they require; when if all persons who realize the gravity and peril of prevailing conditions would boldly and bravely warn the people, we should soon have inaugurated another moral and political renaissance as glorious as that which gave us the Declaration of Independence and made our republic the leader of the world—a moral and political renaissance that would result in the people demanding and obtaining the right to veto corrupt or vicious legislation, to inaugurate needed laws, and to recall venal, corrupt or unworthy public servants, and which would in all probability be followed by public-ownership and operation of the natural monopolies, so that the public utilities of the city, state and nation should be operated for the mutual benefit and enrichment of all the people. Then would come the abolition of privilege that places the few in mastership over the many and the prohibition of stock-watering, gambling with loaded dice and all the rest of the corrupting, demoralizing and essentially immoral features of present-day commercial, economic and political life as found among those who are acquiring millions of unearned wealth. From step to step the nation would thus move along the highway of pure democracy; move as Switzerland and New Zealand are moving, and we should see a sight that would make glad the hearts of all noble-minded Americans—the spectacle of this great republic once again becoming pre-eminently the moral leader in the family of nations, the day-star and the inspiration of every apostle of freedom, democracy and progress on this old earth.

It is toward this end that we are striving;



ST. VALENTINE'S DAY.

SING, ALL YE, THE ROUNDELAY, AND HAIL TO THE PIPER WHO PIPES TO-DAY!

Drawn by Dan. Beard expressly for THE ARENA.
(See Editorial.)



THE SYMBOL OF A PARVENUE PLUTOCRACY.

MONEY MAY DRESS A PIG IN ROYAL ROBES, BUT IT CAN NEVER MAKE A
MAN OF HIM.

Drawn by Dan. Beard expressly for THE ARENA.
(See Editorial.)

it is with this ideal before us that we are battling; and such is our faith in the moral virility latent in our people and in the germinal strength of democracy, that we believe the dream will be realized. We believe that the day will come, and that its advent is nearer than most of us imagine, when the people will

awaken from their lethargy, unite, educate, agitate and consecrate life's all, even as did Adams, Franklin, Jefferson, Washington and the other noble fathers who made the republic possible by their courage, their sacrifice and their devotion to the ideal of democracy.

THE SYMBOL OF A PARVENUE PLUTOCRACY.

OF ALL would-be aristocracies that composed of a parvenue plutocracy is the most disgusting and offensive, for it is as gross and vulgar as it is sordid and brutal. Hereditary aristocracies are frequently marked by culture, education and a degree of refinement and ethical sentiment almost wholly absent in a plutocracy based on rapid acquirement of wealth. The master-spirits of the great trusts, corporations and monopolies are not unfrequently touched with money-madness, and in their business relations their avariciousness leads them to subordinate the nobler, truer and finer instincts to sordid impulses. Hence they may fairly be symbolized by the pig. They may live in palaces costing millions of dollars; they may spend fortunes on palatial yachts and luxurious summer-homes; they may dress in purple and fine

linen and adorn themselves with jewels that would buy a dukedom; yet at heart they remain pigs. Especially is this the case in the acquisition of wealth. It is against this pig in man's clothing, this bejeweled, bedecked and belaced animal of the trough, that the sturdy spirit of American democracy is ranging itself. The cartoonist Nast forever fixed the tiger—"that creature of stripes and rapacity"—as the symbol of Tammany. He also gave the donkey to Democracy. Mr. Beard this month fixes the symbol of American plutocracy in his striking cartoon of the bejeweled pig.

In striking contrast Mr. Beard also gives us a second cartoon this month, embodying the spirit of St. Valentine, a cartoon in which he strives to catch and shadow forth the spirit of that day sacred to love and joyous youth.

THE FALL OF PORT ARTHUR.

THE new year opened auspiciously for Japan with the fall of Port Arthur, the most impregnable fortress in the world, with the possible exception of Gibraltar. Russia believed it to be absolutely impregnable, and time and again during the past year reports have emanated from Russian sources asserting that the fortress could never be taken; that it was not only impregnable, but was supplied with provisions and ammunition for several years. But Russia has been so given to reckless statements, to exaggerations and boastings, that sensible people have long since learned to discount her statements and to discredit any

improbable utterances. This led many persons to believe that Port Arthur was far less formidable than it proved to be. The Japanese, however, felt that the moral effect of the capture no less than the importance of the actual possession warranted its capture, let the cost be what it might. And seldom in the history of the world have armies displayed greater valor or determination than those of the Mikado's forces encamped around the doomed fortress. The capture of Port Arthur is another humiliating blow to Russia and must necessarily greatly lessen her already waning prestige in the Orient.

IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESENT.

THE RUSSIAN SITUATION.

AUTOCHRACT'S EVIL HOUR THE PEOPLE'S OPPORTUNITY.

TO THE student of history the situation in Russia to-day is as interesting as it is momentous. Not for more than a century has the world witnessed so titanic a struggle in Christendom between the genius of darkness and brutal despotism and that of light and the free aspirations of mighty peoples. The revolutions of 'forty-eight were sporadic and insignificant in comparison with the silent struggle now going on in the Russian Empire. This struggle is in essence the same conflict that is everywhere throughout Western civilization being more or less strenuously waged between the friends of freedom and popular government and those of reaction, despotism and class-rule. But Russia to-day is pre-eminently the storm-center in the civilization-wide conflict; hence a glance at conditions there will be helpful to friends of democracy everywhere, for we must remember that Russia's conflict is ours—that democracy is vitally concerned in the advance of the millions of Russia toward the light of freedom.

As times of prosperity and tranquility are not unfrequently periods of supreme peril to free institutions, as they afford opportunities for despotism, reaction and corruption to advance in government—opportunities for dangerous precedents to be established, for official classes and special interests to make aggressive forward movements, and for graft, corruption and venality to silently but rapidly permeate the body-politic; so periods of commercial depression, or of national stress and strain, at a time when foreign wars demand the tools of despots and tyrants to be largely engaged beyond the nation's borders, afford the supreme opportunity for friends of free institutions and liberal government to press for vantage upon the citadels of governmental oppression and reaction.

That the Russian people measurably appreciate this vital fact is indicated by the great activity being manifested throughout the empire. The students and educators are alert and active. The landed heads of the

communes are displaying a greater degree of moral courage than men of property are wont to exhibit where bold or outspoken demands are liable to lead to confiscation of property and imprisonment, exile or death for the patriots. The peasants are everywhere giving evidences of unrest and showing that the long and systematic oppression of the bureaucracy has driven them well-nigh to despair; while the workingmen in the cities are on all sides showing a growing and settled determination to have a day of reckoning with the criminally cruel oppressors if no reasonable reforms or concessions are granted to the people.

Moreover, the foreign groups of Russian patriots—men whose love for freedom and the ideals of democracy and justice has been so great that it has led to enforced or voluntary exile from their fatherland—are busy with the underground railroad by which Russia is being sown with the literature of revolt, freedom and democracy much as was France in the time of Louis XVI.

These things presage a change for the better, but whether it shall come through peaceful methods, by virtue of the wisdom of the Czar, or by forcible revolution depends on the greatness and true statesmanship of Nicholas II. and his immediate councillors.

THE ATTITUDE OF THE REACTIONARY AUTOCRATS.

THE ACTION of the zemstvos in boldly petitioning for a constitutional government and other liberal and progressive reforms, the growing restlessness of the people and the rising spirit of insubordination in the presence of brutal treatment that has long been the rule in Russia, are enraging and alarming the autocrats and bureaucrats. Some, it is true, merely express indignant contempt at the presumption of the people in assuming that they exist for any other purpose than to minister to the pleasure and gratification of a few more or less dissolute members of a so-called royal family and the subservient tools of despotism that constitute the bureaucracy. This sentiment found expression in the recent characteristic remark of the Grand Duke Sergius,

the uncle of the Czar, the Governor-General of Moscow and one of the leading spirits among the reactionaries, when in speaking of the demand of the zemstvos and the mutterings of the poor of Russia he said: "These peasants think, I suppose, that Russia exists for them as a dog does for fleas."

While some of the autocrats, however, are affecting contempt for the protests and menacing unrest of the people, others are displaying their alarm by their almost frantic defences of the autocracy and by their strenuous efforts to prove that a constitutional government could not exist in Russia because of the ignorance of the people—an ignorance, by the way, for which the church and the bureaucracy are chiefly responsible. Thus we find Prince Mestchersky, who is probably the ablest as he is the most reactionary of the defenders of the autocracy, industriously circulating throughout Western civilization the old, threadbare cry that the people are too ignorant for self-government; that the concession to the demand of the zemstvos would merely mean the autocracy of a class, and that the present despotism is the only kind of government that could successfully carry forward the best interests of Russia. This is the old, old cry of tyrants and despots that has ever rung forth when the people have demanded justice and a wider measure of freedom. It was the cry of King George and the reactionaries that brought on the American Revolution. It is the false shibboleth of the enemies of democracy and freedom the world over, by which they seek to justify reactionary innovations and the maintenance of the terrorism that flourishes in nations where a brutal bureaucracy such as exists in Russia obtains.

The most shameful feature of the present propaganda of despotism is the spectacle of American, English and Continental journalists and other reactionaries taking up and echoing these catch-phrases and false pleas of the special-pleaders for tyranny.

RUSSIA AND SELF-GOVERNMENT.

PERHAPS there is no Russian thinker and expert better able to utter an authentic word in answer to the sophistical cries of selfish upholders of autocracy in Russia than Professor Paul Milyoukov, the eminent economist, historian and educator, who was imprisoned in 1901 for presiding over a meeting of students and who has recently delivered a brilliant course of lectures in Boston on present con-

ditions in Russia. This eminent and careful thinker, before the Twentieth-Century Club, on December 17, 1904, exposed the hollowness of the cry that the Russians were not prepared for self-government. He spoke as an expert, having, as he stated, conducted a special inquiry to determine that very question, and in the course of his remarks he pointed out the fact that twenty-five years ago the Czar of Russia granted the Bulgarians a constitution patterned after that of the Belgians. "The only changes introduced made it even more democratic than the Belgian constitution, for the Bulgarians got a one-chamber legislature and universal instead of limited suffrage." And Professor Milyoukov continued: "I am quite sure that the Bulgarians are not a people of higher intelligence than the Russians; yet experience has shown that they choose their representatives very intelligently and in a way quite up to the level of their own interests as a people. Moreover, the Bulgarians received their constitution after being in serfdom under the Turkish rule. Their constitution has proved a sort of school of political life among them, and enormous changes have taken place in Bulgaria altogether owing to the constant practice of political rights which has been given to Bulgaria by the working of that constitution; and if I were to be asked, here or in Russia, whether the vote should be given in my country generally to the people, I should answer in the affirmative."

The claim of the interested reactionaries in Russia is precisely analogous to the positive assertions of those in our own country who were interested in sugar monopolies and other privileges a short time since, when the independence of Cuba was up for consideration. These would-be fosterers of despotism declared that the claim that the Cubans could be entrusted with self-government was preposterous. They insisted that our government ought not to entertain the idea for a moment; yet Cuba is getting along incomparably better than Russia under autocracy. Moreover, in Russia the people would be led, aided and educated by the educators of Russia and the ablest and most enlightened members of the zemstvos—men in many instances of the widest learning and of the noblest purposes.

SIGNS OF CHANGE.

THE BOLD and statesmanlike plea of the leaders of the zemstvos, recently made to the Czar, showed the liberal leaders of Russia who

represent the communes to be men of intelligence, of moral courage and endowed with a lofty patriotism that argues well for the future of the nation after the baleful spell of an intolerable despotism shall be broken. That it will be broken multitudinous signs indicate. Professor Milyoukov, in one of his Lowell Institute lectures delivered in Boston, well observed that: "Russia is no longer submissive. Political parties are numerous, aggressive and better organized than ever before. The men in power cannot grapple with the problem before them. What and how grave that problem is, is to be appreciated by a study of the revolution."

"From academic to practical, the new liberal movement, dating from the abolition of serfdom, has moved steadily to organization through the instrumentality of the zemstvos, or local assembly, to which were committed the management of local provincial affairs in certain parts of European Russia. The gentry, as already noted, had been brought into personal competition with the lower classes. The gentry had to work—had to descend to what are called in Russia the 'men of mixed ranks.' In this way the capable element in the gentry became more democratic. The liberals of the gentry recruited their ranks from men of lower orders, organized liberal work, and defined more sharply its programme of reform and progress."

"Growth of liberalism was favored at the same time by the rise of the liberal professions, literature and law having their first firm establishment with this new era. In the zemstvos the share of the lower classes was very slight, yet the educated class which directed the work of the zemstvos remained remarkably faithful to its liberal spirit. Schools, hospitals, medical and asylum service, charities—all the agencies of education and relief were actively pushed. All this work, carried out by executive boards or officers, created new vocations which many men preferred to the service of the State. First of these were the school-teachers. Next were the zemstvos doctors, generally pioneers of hygiene and sanitation among the village peasants. Perhaps nearest to the lowest classes were the statisticians, who came into intimate touch with every fact of the peasant's daily life. These, with the teachers of agriculture, the whole group being known as 'the third element,' became from the nature of their work rather more radical than the zemstvos itself."

"The demand for a constitution has been incessant, and widely varied in form."

The *Neue Freie Presse* of Vienna, Austria, in commenting on the recent assembling of the zemstvos congress at St. Petersburg, observed that: "It was not summoned, as was the case with the states-general in France and as was the case with the united Landtags in Prussia. It assembled spontaneously, grew out of the ground of itself, as it were, like a thing of necessity, a something not to be held back, a thing pressing forth into the sunlight, elemental, not needing to be called. These men who came together in the zemstvos congress are heroes and carry their fate in their hands at a word of command that is mightier than all the power of the Russian bureaucracy."

And this journal concludes that "the great historical process has begun. It can be halted, delayed, but scarcely turned backward."

REVOLUTIONARY LEADERS AND THE PEOPLE.

A NUMBER of writers who have dealt with the possibilities of revolution in Russia have insisted that any general revolt would prove ineffectual, because the people would have no capable leaders such as we had in our Revolution or such as the *bourgeois* class in France. Singularly enough, these writers, who for the most part seem to be making the hope the father to the thought, overlook the facts in the case. Perhaps there has never been a conflict between autocratic despotism and the people wherein there were better prospects for able leaders than in Russia to-day. The present bureaucracy of Russia is made up largely if not chiefly of men who have been picked, as was the late tyrant Von Plehve, from the common walks of life. The master-spirits in Russia have demanded three things of their servants: (1) absolute subserviency to the despotic decrees of the royal family and the councillors highest in authority; (2) intellectual ability; (3) courage and the absence of sentiments of humanity, justice and morality that would prevent the execution of the most inhuman, brutal and monstrous decrees that the autocrats desire to issue in furtherance of their supposed interests and for the maintenance of an absolute and resistless despotism.

Now they have found it far easier to find recruits for offices among the ambitious but morally defective sons of the common people

than among the high-spirited scions of the old aristocracy. Consequently for several decades there has been going on a steady weeding out of the aristocracy and a driving of the old nobility into the background. Many of the representatives of these old families are to-day members of the *zemstvos*; others are in comparative obscurity. Numbers have been exiled to Siberia, imprisoned or put to death, while their sons cannot be expected to show any great love for the bureaucracy if the hour strikes for an onward movement for Russian civilization along the pathway of revolution. Besides these there are the educators and the daring and high-minded students who throng the Russian universities and higher schools. Hence in the event of a revolution, capable, high-minded and devoted leaders, as noble and self-sacrificing as were Jefferson, Franklin, Washington or the others of our great fathers, or as were Lafayette and others in Continental Europe, will not be wanting.

THE INSATIABLE GREED OF THE ROYAL FAMILY OF RUSSIA.

THE MISERY and indescribable suffering of the peasants of Russia is largely due to the insatiable avarice or greed of the reigning family of Russia. In a recent issue of the *Anglo-Russian* of London, the editor, Jaakoff Prelooker, in an editorial leader entitled "Insatiable Autocracy" states that the land

owned by the 110,000,000 peasants of Russia aggregates only 35,141,886 acres, while the imperial family alone owns 32,000,000 acres, the remaining 181,606,519 acres being held by the landed aristocracy and the favored nobility. Moreover this writer says in speaking of the character of the land:

"It must also be understood that the land in the possession of the imperial family and the nobility is of the very richest and most fertile, whilst that of the peasants is of the poorest. Notwithstanding this, the nobleman with an average of some 128 acres, is exempt from ordinary State taxes, whilst the peasant with an average of *one-third* of an acre, has not only to pay taxes, but is loaded with many other burdens imposed exclusively upon his class alone."

Is it strange that from the peasant's hut, from the workman's hovel, from the student's attic, comes the cry for change—a cry which when taken up by the educators and the *zemstvos* leaders may well create consternation in the breasts of the criminals in high places who with the present unholy and indefensible war on their hands in the East are unable to mercilessly crush those who have dared to protest, as bureaucracies have so frequently crushed noble and educator, student, maid, matron, peasant and workingman in the past, whenever they have cried for justice, for education and for freedom?

ADVANCE IN PUBLIC-OWNERSHIP.

SIGNAL SUCCESS OF MUNICIPAL TELEPHONES IN GREAT BRITAIN.

MR. E. DAGGER in the course of an interesting paper in a recent issue of *The Municipal Journal and Engineer* gives some highly important facts relating to public-ownership of telephones in Great Britain, in which he shows that the public-ownership and operation has been eminently satisfactory and encouraging to the tax-payers and the community enjoying such service, however unsatisfactory it has been to the great telephone monopolies that strove to deceive, frighten and mislead the people and influence the action of the authorities as they have done so successfully in the United States. He shows, for example, that in Glasgow there are now

11,500 telephones, the average revenue per telephone being \$21. Ten per cent. is paid as a royalty to the post-office department, so the average which the municipality receives is but \$18.90. Yet in spite of the small cost to subscribers the city meets all operating and maintenance expenses, pays all interest charges, sets aside a sum for a sinking-fund, and also has an annual surplus for depreciation of over eleven thousand dollars.

It is often urged by the owners and the hired agents of the public-service corporations, and echoed by the unthinking, that public-ownership gives poorer service than private-ownership, in spite of the fact that in every instance of which we have any knowledge of municipal-ownership in the Old World superseding private-ownership, the service has been

immeasurably improved under the city's operation; and in comparing public-ownership with private-ownership, the only fair comparisons are clearly those made where the private and public operations have been employed in the same city, or where cities are compared with cities in the same country. But in the case of the municipal telephones in Glasgow the service seems to eclipse that of the private companies anywhere else in the world. On this point Frederick Adams, after personal investigation, writes in the *Brooklyn Eagle*:

"The Glasgow telephone service is the best I have ever inspected. Mr. Bennett informed me that statistics showed that the average time required to make a connection was less than fifteen seconds. It should be explained that the telephone booth is practically unknown in the office of a Glasgow business man. The instrument is on the edge of his desk, and the receiver and transmitter are in one piece. This aluminum device is connected with a wire cord, and the customer may converse leaning back in his chair or walking about the room, as he prefers. It is a most decided improvement over the clumsy and antiquated system which yet prevails in most exchanges in the United States."

Some idea of the rapid increase in the net revenues may be gained from the following figures taken from the Corporation Telephone Department's report for the years ending May 31st. In 1902 the net revenue was \$68,647. In 1903 it had risen to \$170,518; and in 1904 it reached \$241,742.

Outside of the London post-office telephone system, the Glasgow municipal plant is the largest underground system in Great Britain.

In England the public authorities seem more sane and honest than those in America; at least, they are far less subservient to public-service corporations and more loyal to the interests of the people. It has been a frequent policy of the private-service corporations with us to secure so-called experts, who either before the people's servants or through the press warned the public against the dangers of loss through public-ownership. Corporations like the Boston Elevated Railway Company which are pouring from three to four million dollars every year into the pockets of a comparatively few over-rich stockholders and their pliant tools, are always very solicitous lest a city should commit the grave folly of

taking over the municipal utilities; but these alarmist cries that make the way so easy for the people's servants who wish to see matters through the spectacles of the over-rich corporations, have little influence in England, where the municipal authorities place the interests of the people before the interests and emoluments of a few individuals. A striking case of this kind is cited by Mr. Dagger in his story of the success of Portsmouth with municipal telephones.

"The results achieved," he tells us, "with this exchange are interesting as proving how worthless are opinions of experts whose evidence is put forward by the monopolies for the purpose of preventing the establishment of municipal undertakings. At the Portsmouth local Government Board inquiry two witnesses were put forward by the National Telephone Company to oppose the granting of borrowing powers to build the plant. They were J. E. Kingsbury, English manager for the Western Electric Company, of Chicago, a 'Bell' corporation, and Herbert Laws Webb, late engineer to the New York Telephone Company (also 'Bell'). The following are extracts from their evidence:

"Q. In your view, will this business be a financial success?

"A. (J. E. Kingsbury): No; I do not see how it can.

"Q. Do you think it commercially sound?

"A. I think it quite uncommercial.

"Q. Are the (proposed) rates remunerative?

"A. (H. L. Webb): I do not think that they can possibly be remunerative.

"Q. Will the undertaking be a charge on the rates?

"A. I think it will be a charge on the rates."

The citizens of Portsmouth were not to be deceived by the testimony of these so-called experts. In spite of their warning, the city installed her own telephone-plant. The receipts for last year, up to March 31st, averaged \$17.50 per telephone (the unlimited service is \$28.61; limited, \$17.54 and \$12.18). After deducting the post-office department's royalty the telephone receipts averaged \$15.79 per instrument, and this enabled the city to pay operating and maintenance expenses, etc. The net revenue amounted

to a dividend of nine per cent. on the capital expended, out of which interest and sinking funds were deducted, leaving \$6,136 for depreciation fund.

These cities furnish examples of the actual practical results of public-ownership of public utilities. How much longer will our people submit to being plundered to make others over-rich, and, what is worse, submit to a spoliation which almost invariably leads to the corrupting of the people's servants?

THE RESULT OF MUNICIPAL PUBLIC-LIGHTING IN CLEVELAND.

THE RESULTS that have attended the lighting of the streets of Cleveland by the municipality instead of under contract (the method which had obtained) afford another illustration of the saving which a city can and should make by municipal-ownership and control of public utilities. Under the old method the streets were lighted by a private corporation, and the city paid \$22.56 per lamp. Under municipal lighting the cost to the city is \$17.38 a lamp. As there are 6,500 gas-lamps at the present time in Cleveland, the saving to the city is \$33,670. The candle-power of the lights is precisely the same as it was when the city enriched the private corporation to the extent of over \$30,000 a year for doing a part of its own business. Only by the power of corrupt wealth is it possible to prevent from year to year the municipalities of America from enjoying the enormous revenue derived by the various private corporations through ownership and operation of public utilities. Is there any good reason why a city should turn \$33,670 a year, or \$336,700 every decade, into the pockets of an over-rich corporation, when this sum can easily be saved to the taxpayers and when the saving, moreover, is favorable to good government? Cleveland, under a genuine reform government, has given the only sane, practical and business-like answer that can be given.

WHY THE GAS-TRUST IN TWO CITIES SEES PERIL IN YELLOW JOURNALISM.

IT is doubtful whether the terrors of yellow journalism have ever before proved such a nightmare to the extortionate gas-monopolies of New York and Boston, and to recreant public officials as of late. During the past

few months Mr. Hearst has exposed the shameful and disgraceful methods by which the mayor and comptroller of New York sought to turn over \$9,000,000 to the gas-trust. The public servants in the great metropolis strove in every way to consummate these iniquitous proceedings, but Mr. Hearst laid bare their action in his paper, attacked them in the courts and finally secured a permanent injunction, preventing the payment of the \$9,000,000 to the great chagrin of the discredited mayor and the exasperation of the grasping monopoly.

In Boston an aggressive movement on the part of the various gas companies that constitute the gas monopoly of Boston and her environs was attacked by Mr. Hearst, first in the *Boston American* and later before the State Commissioners. When the case was brought before the officials Mr. Hearst, through his attorneys, presented the petition of seventy thousand of the citizens of Boston asking that the present exorbitant price of one dollar per thousand cubic feet be reduced to eighty cents per thousand. The trust, as usual, was represented by the ablest legal ability and felt confident in its power to defeat the just demands of a long-suffering and shamefully-plundered public. But Mr. Hearst created consternation in the monopolistic family when he brought from Cleveland, Ohio, Professor Edward Bemis, the famous gas-expert, who after an exhaustive examination made a merciless *exposé* of the preposterous claims of the gas combine. He showed, for example, that from their own figures the Brookline Gas Company, which is one of the gas corporations in the present monopoly, could during the past seven years have paid seven per cent. on its entire capitalization and yet only have charged the public eighty cents per thousand for gas.

One of the State Commissioners has from the first displayed a sense of fairness and that judicial impartiality which should always characterize officials acting in the capacity of judges. The other two commissioners, however, have shown a strong bias in favor of the views presented by the gas-trust and its special-pleaders, one of the Commissioners, Mr. George, going so far as to declare, when he refused to call for certain books which the people's representatives asked should be presented before the Commission, that "the law says that we shall settle this question, and not the community," thereby displaying that insolent arrogance which has marked the most

offensive and odious puppets of despotism in olden times, but which is not supposed to be exhibited by the people's servants in a republic.

The cartoons which we present this month bearing on this gas fight are of special interest to the American people because the conflict between these great, oppressive, public-service lighting companies in two of America's great cities is the same conflict that is being waged between the people and the railroads, the refrigerator-car trust, the coal-trust, the sugar-trust and other iniquitous combinations that are deliberately plundering the people. The impudent remark of Commissioner George, in which he expresses so much contempt for the will, desire and demand of the community he is supposed to represent, affords another powerful reason why every American voter should place the demand for the enjoyment of democratic government through direct-legislation above all other immediate demands.

The people's servants have come to hold their employers in contempt and too frequently act as though they held briefs from the oppressors and plunderers of individuals and communities.

However the present case may be settled in Boston, and from the attitude of the Commission at the present writing it is doubtful whether the people will gain their just relief in the immediate future, the work done by Mr. Hearst's campaign has proved of immense value and the cause of public-ownership of gas has been materially strengthened, as it has been made apparent to thousands of our citizens as never before that the only relief for the people from extortion and oppression by public-service monopolies lies in our following the wise example of Old World cities and making and selling our own gas at from one-half to one-third less than the American people are now paying the over-rich private corporations.

SOCIALISM IN ITALY.

PHENOMENAL GROWTH OF THE SOCIALIST VOTE IN ITALY.

PRESS dispatches sent out from Italy and published throughout America, purporting to give the result of the recent election, were such as to woefully mislead the people. Thus, for example, it was heralded far and wide that the Socialists had met a crushing or overwhelming defeat, and we were gravely told by learned editors that labor in Italy had repudiated the vagaries of Socialism. Then came the positive statement that the great Italian Socialist leader, Enrico Ferri, had been defeated.

Now what were the facts? In the first place Enrico Ferri stood for election in three districts. In one he was defeated; in two he was elected. Secondly, the Socialists elected members from twenty-eight districts, while in 1900 they were successful in thirty-two districts, so their voting strength in the new parliament will be five less than in the preceding congress. The Socialist vote, however, almost doubled that of 1900, as at the recent election they polled 301,000 votes, while in 1900 the total vote was 162,000.

The loss of five seats was due to two principal causes. In 1900 the radical Republicans acted with the Socialists in several districts,

supporting their candidates. In the late election the Socialists stood alone, while the Catholic Church, which has for the most part held aloof from elections because the Italian Government antagonizes the absurd claims to temporal power made by the Pontiff, actively assisted the government's candidates in several districts with the hope of defeating the Socialists. Thus, though the Socialists have almost doubled their voting strength they have fewer seats in the parliament. But to talk of the overwhelming defeat of Socialism in Italy, or to say that the laborers of Italy have deserted Socialism is in the face of the returns so pitifully false that one would think that this kind of misrepresentation would be resented by the reading public, even that part of it that has no sympathy with Socialism, for people as a rule do not enjoy being mislead as to palpable facts.

Another thing should be borne in mind in reference to the Socialist vote in Italy. It is not an ignorant vote, as some papers have striven to prove. Quite the contrary. In Italy no person is allowed to vote who cannot read and write, and in the kingdom fifty-six per cent of the population is unable to vote because of being illiterate. The 301,000 Italian votes given to the Socialist ticket were cast by persons who could read and write.

In 1900 the Socialists polled 12.9 per cent. of the entire vote. In 1904 they polled 20 per cent. of the entire vote.

We take pleasure in giving our readers these

facts in the interest of common justice and fair play and to correct the misapprehension of those of our people who have taken the press reports as truthful statements.

SHADOWS ON THE PATHWAY OF PROGRESS.

SOCIAL CONTRASTS THE FRUIT OF PRIVILEGE AND INEQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITIES.

ON THE fifteenth of December the Boston *Herald* published a note to the effect that Mr. Charles Schwab of steel-trust fame recently had a pair of shoes made to order, and on receiving them with a bill for fifty dollars, "he was so convinced of their superiority that he forthwith ordered five pairs more at the same price." On the same day the Boston Evening *Transcript* published the following dispatch from New York:

"NEW YORK, December 15th.—After trudging through the snow from one end of the city to the other in the vain hope of securing employment, his wife and six children being without food and ordered to leave their home in an upper East-side tenement-house because of non-payment of rent, John Corcoran, a clerk, to-day ended his life by drinking carbolic acid."

These social contrasts are strictly typical of conditions that prevail to-day in our land of almost inexhaustible undeveloped wealth, due to unjust and fundamentally inequitable conditions. Elsewhere we call the attention of our readers to the fact that in Manhattan Borough in 1903 there were 60,463 families evicted from their tenements. That is about fourteen per cent. of the whole number of families in the borough. The agony and misery that attended a large number of the families that were thus driven forth from their shelter can never be adequately described, but the above dispatch may enable us to feel something of the anguish of spirit, the utter despair, which some of these unfortunates experienced. On the other hand, the vast wealth that was so quickly acquired by Mr. Schwab and which has been partly squandered at Monte Carlo, came largely by virtue of that vicious legislation which enables a few men to secure from the government special privileges which have placed the American people at their mercy while they have levied such extortionate or excessive prices for their wares

that they have acquired millions upon millions of dollars, and which enable them to-day to still rob the American citizens of from six to eleven dollars on every ton of iron and steel purchased, in excess of what this same predatory band charges the citizens of Great Britain and Canada. Legislation of this character cannot fail to produce multi-millionaires or a plutocracy whose great wealth and power have only been possible of attainment through special privileges and monopoly rights by which the masses have been plundered for the benefit of the few, and such conditions cannot fail to produce increasing examples of social contrasts such as the typical instances cited above.

RECRUDESCENCE OF MEDIEVAL RELIGIOUS INTOLERANCE IN SPAIN.

A RECENT issue of *Public Opinion* contains a translation of a noteworthy editorial from the *Imparcial* of Madrid, Spain, which merits the thoughtful consideration of our people as it illustrates in a striking manner how easy it is for reactionary elements, when once they obtain power, to re-establish the baleful, soul-shriveling, thought-fettering conditions which marked the Europe of the Dark Ages. The *Imparcial*, as the editor of *Public Opinion* well observes, cannot be suspected of anti-Catholic prejudice. Yet this editorial, after describing the paralyzed condition which prevails in the city of Bilbao, due to the collapse of a speculative boom, passes to the notice of a stagnation more deadly than that of business—the stagnation of the brain and all the nobler and higher sensibilities in man, due to the inflamed condition of the popular mind, the result of the reactionary agitation of the Jesuits and other church fathers in their effort to stamp out free inquiry and the liberal aspirations of the people—a stagnation that is "destroying domestic peace, injuring social relations and transforming the religious sentiment into a poisoned political weapon. Intolerance," the *Imparcial* continues, "has obtained such a form that the inhabitants are divided into two classes, into the 'good' and

the 'bad,' that is, into those who with their gold and their votes elected Urquiji—the candidate of the Jesuits for parliament—and those who opposed this candidate or remained neutral.

"Most powerful in this element, which is continually plotting against everything with a liberal tendency, are the women. No endeavor, no sacrifice, is too great where the object is to fulfil the commands of their father confessors. In this crusade against the 'bad' every weapon is permitted, while all questions of conscience must be put aside. The vilest pretensions are ennobled when they are used for the glory of God, which in this case consists in the utter expulsion of the liberals. Boycotts are declared against merchants, manufacturers, and newspapers, against all in fact, who do not submit blindly to the ruling elements. The señoras form unions for the purpose of boycotting this or that shop, this or that workman, this or that newspaper, while lists are published of all persons who advertise in the offensive newspaper. The insolent boldness with which the reactionaries proceed in their campaign is only to be compared with their lust for battle, while their intolerance is the most supreme of their virtues. All who do not think as they do are lepers, contact with whom will certainly lead to infection; and this unheard-of condition will now be extended throughout the entire kingdom according to the terms of the agreement which the government has concluded with the Vatican."

The above statement from the important Madrid journal is a melancholy illustration of the inevitable result which follows when reactionary and dogmatic religious concepts gain ascendancy over reason and enlightenment. When such conditions obtain, all the finest sentiments, all the instincts of justice and humanity, all thought of the Golden-Rule, give place to savage hate, inspiring fanaticism that turns the dial-hand back toward the gloom of the dark ages.

A CANARD THAT PROVED A BOOMERANG.

DEPUTY Gabriel Syveton, whose brutal assault on the War Minister of France led to his expulsion from the parliament house and who later committed suicide, was one of the most strenuous of the reactionary element in the French parliament. His attacks on the republican government and on all the liberal measures were such as to delight the most

reactionary Clericals. And the immediate cause of his disgraceful assault on the Minister of War was due to the action of the Minister, in seeking to prevent men who were subservient to the reactionary religionists that had ever been hostile to free education and the republic from gaining commanding positions in the army.

When the news of M. Syveton's violent death was circulated, the reactionaries instantly spread the report that he had been murdered by the Free-Masons, notwithstanding that the evidence of suicide was most convincing in character. Later it was claimed that he had been hounded to death by the government because of his loyal and outspoken defence of the reactionaries and the position taken by the upholders of the Vatican. Subsequently, however, the real cause of the suicide was disclosed in the fact that Madame Syveton was about to demand a divorce on account of the improper sexual relations between her husband and her daughter by a former marriage. The daughter in question had married M. Menard. The Paris dispatch published in the *Boston Herald* of December 15, 1904, stated that:

"Both M. Menard and Mme. Syveton had accused the deputy of these relations, and a family council took place shortly before M. Syveton's death, at which violent scenes were enacted, M. Menard declaring that it was the duty of the deputy to put a bullet through his head, and Mme. Syveton announcing her purpose to sue for a divorce.

"This was on the eve of M. Syveton's trial for assaulting War Minister Andre in the Chamber of Deputies. The deputy foresaw the public disclosure of his relations with his wife's daughter, and thereupon committed suicide for the purpose of averting the disclosure."

If instead of being a champion of conventional reaction and clericalism, Deputy Syveton had been a radical republican or a social democrat, the conservative and reactionary press of this and other lands would have given great prominence to the fact and we should have been treated on every hand to long homilies on the evils of secular education, on the menace to morality incident to liberal republican training or the philosophy of socialism. As, however, the statesman was preëminent as a defender of the church and an upholder of reactionary ideals, little has been said on the matter.

BOOKS OF THE DAY.*

Poverty. By Robert Hunter. Cloth. Pp. 382. Price, \$1.50 net. Postage, 12 cents. New York: The Macmillan Company.

I. THE AUTHOR.

THE CONSCIENCE literature of social progress receives an important contribution in Mr. Robert Hunter's new work entitled *Poverty*. The author belongs to that small company of young men who place justice, truth and right above personal considerations or selfish desires and who are justly entitled to be termed servants of light, because it is through the labor of men and women of this class that the success of all great fundamental reform measures and progressive movements is made possible.

Mr. Hunter graduated from the University of Indiana in 1896. On completing his academic education he entered the school of practical service. The social problem held for him an overmastering power. He knew, as we all know, that the increasing tide of misery, vice and crime is largely due to poverty and the pitiable and crime-breeding conditions that environ a large proportion of the very poor in our great cities. Now in order to be able to aid in uplifting these unfortunate ones in so far as lay in his power, and at the same time familiarize himself with all the vital facts and the various phases and problems that need to be understood if one would deal with this question in a large and helpful way, Mr. Hunter determined to engage actively in university-settlement work in various centers. Accordingly he took up his self-appointed task, first settling in one of the districts where the poorest working-people of Chicago were huddled together back of the "yards." Here, while working with and for the very poor, he was able to make an intimate study of their lives, conditions, problems and perplexities. Next he went to Hull House, and during his stay in Chicago he devoted considerable time to the study of lodging and tenement-houses and was chairman of the Tenement Committee of Chicago. From the great Western metropolis he went to Great

Britain, living for a time at Toynbee Hall and other settlements in England. Returning to this country, he became the head of the University Settlement on the East side of New York and Chairman of the New York Child-Labor Committee, which was responsible for the immensely-important laws that protected 290,000 children. He has made careful studies of social conditions in various centers in Europe as well as America, and is therefore admirably equipped for the task of intelligently discussing the grave and growing question of poverty in our republic.

The author is a young man, yet his life has been enriched by a beautiful romance, and since all the world loves a lover we may be pardoned for briefly alluding to it. It was while at work among the very poor of the East side in New York, that Mr. Hunter became acquainted with a young American lady who was also seeking to lighten and brighten the lives of the miserables in that great city. This young woman was the daughter of Mr. Anson Phelps Stokes, a large-hearted, noble-minded man of wealth in New York of whom many of our readers have heard because of his brave stand for Mr. Bryan at the time when self-seeking men of immense fortunes in the Empire City were almost a unit against the incorruptible statesman from Nebraska. Miss Stokes had inherited her parents' love for humanity and her heart went out in sympathy for the unfortunate ones in the great city. Hence she was working with her brother for their relief. After meeting Mr. Hunter a strong sentiment of affection sprang up, perhaps at first due largely to community of sentiment and interest, but in time it ripened into love. The young couple were wedded and their home is to-day one of those ideal firesides where love and service hold sway.

II. THE BOOK.

This work, within certain limits, is strong, fine and deserving of great praise. It contains seven chapters in which are discussed "Poverty," "The Pauper," "The Vagrant," "The Sick," "The Child," "The Immigrant," and the author's conclusions. The chapter devoted to "Poverty," which is a closely-rea-

* Books intended for review in THE ARENA should be addressed to B. O. Flower, Editorial Department, THE ARENA, Boston, Mass.

soned discussion occupying more than sixty pages, contains an array of facts which will prove at once startling and disquieting to those ignorant of the true conditions that prevail in our republic, while they will doubtless seem incredible to the vast multitude of echoes of echoes of our complacent metropolitan press that day by day harps on prosperity and the national wealth at the dictation of Wall-street magnates or professional politicians who are eager to preserve conditions through which a few are becoming immensely rich, and their faithful servants, who misrepresent the people in government, are holding lucrative positions which they hope will prove life-long sinecures. The chapters on "The Sick" and "The Child" deserve special notice. That on "The Child" should be read by every parent in America. It cannot fail to produce a profound and lasting impression. It will make for civic righteousness and a moral sentiment that when once fully aroused will, we believe, destroy the infamy of child-slavery in our republic.

We have quoted extensively from this work in our editorial leader this month and have cited several facts and some data given by Mr. Hunter as embodying the latest authoritative facts relating to certain social conditions, so we will not dwell at length on the work as we otherwise should have done; but we venture the hope that our readers will secure the book and carefully peruse it. You may not agree with all Mr. Hunter's views; you will doubtless feel that the measures suggested are hopelessly inadequate; you will probably wish that he had handled the question along broader lines when he comes to the treatment of poverty; but you should remember that this work is preëminently intended to awaken the sleeping conscience of our conventional society. It is a book devoted mainly to the facts—the grim and terrible facts that must be confronted by thoughtful Christian men and women of America, and nothing is more needed than books that will compel the sleeping church and a complacent, self-satisfied and heedless society to take cognizance of the tragic condition of millions of our people. Many who read this work will be led by it into further investigations. They will not rest until they have studied far enough to see where the great underlying social and economic crimes lie which render the misery of the millions not only possible but inevitable. We confess that when we first read the suggestive remedies advanced by Mr. Hunter we felt

depressed. After reading the views of the great social philosophers who were the fathers of the liberal and revolutionary movements in England, France and America in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and still further after reading the luminous treatises of Henry George and the profoundly suggestive social philosophies of Marx and the other great social, democratic and practical but idealistic reformers, we always feel inspired and filled with a strong faith in the future; but when we read a conventional work on political economy, in which the author performs the tread-mill act, retracing old ideas born of ages and times when writers sought to bolster up special interests and privileged classes and to avoid any radical position, no matter how fundamentally just or righteous it might be, we always feel profoundly depressed and discouraged. So also when at the heels of a noble work dealing with poverty, so compelling in influence and so fine in spirit as is Mr. Hunter's, when we come to his suggested measures dealing as they do with palliative rather than fundamental reforms, we experience again the same sense of depression and weariness of spirit as when reading conventional economic and political treatises. But by this we would not disparage the palliative remedies when applied as such. Some years ago, when our work entitled *Civilization's Inferno* was first published, a number of friends criticized it on the ground that it devoted too much space to palliative measures; yet it was our aim at all times to insist upon the necessity of fundamental reforms, but at the same time we believe, and have always believed in doing our utmost to save the sinking while the great ships of justice are being builded. Mr. Hunter's remedial measures are for the most part sane, reasonable, just and necessary, and they will appeal to tens of thousands who would be frightened if one proposed more fundamental measures. And yet many of those who to-day will become deeply interested in the measures proposed by our author will five years from to-day be clamoring for more fundamental reforms—reforms that will guarantee equality of opportunities and of rights to all. Books like this work are of immense value at the present period in our conflict against the sordid materialism that is ranging itself with reaction and subtly when not aggressively opposing the ideal of democracy and social progress.

Handicraft and Recreation for Girls. By Lina Beard and Adelia B. Beard. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 357. Price, \$1.60 net. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

A Defective Santa Claus. A Poem by James Whitcomb Riley. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 78. Price, \$1 net. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

OF LATE years parents as well as teachers are coming more and more to recognize that in the education of the child the training of the eye and hand plays a part quite as important as that of the brain. This fact is witnessed in the increasing number of manual-training schools and in the revival of many of the old-time arts and crafts. When the eye and hand can be trained, the mind informed, and the child at the same time entertained, a needed work is indeed being accomplished; and in *Handicraft and Recreation for Girls*, parents will find a valuable aid in accomplishing this triple task.

The first half of the volume, as the name indicates, is devoted to the handicrafts. Here the most explicit and simple directions are given for spinning, weaving, both on a miniature loom and with pliant grasses and reeds, modeling with clay, working with tissue paper, etc., as well as for making complete miniature copies of a Japanese village, a Russian village, an Indian village and an old Colonial kitchen, fitted out with all the utensils which our grandmothers used in Revolutionary days. Besides these more ambitious undertakings there are numerous suggestions for the very tiny folks, such as weaving dolls' hammocks, "hoppergrass" houses, napkin rings, etc., from the ordinary field-grasses, all of which entertain the child for many happy hours while helping to make the little fingers nimble and skillful.

All the directions in the book are so detailed and simple, and the illustrations are so copious that the work is far more valuable than many similar volumes, which leave so much to the imagination that even grown people would find considerable difficulty in accomplishing many of the things which are said to be so easy.

The second half of *Handicraft and Recreation* contains many delightful suggestions for Easter and Hallowe'en games as well as for simple amusements for very small children.

One would search far to find a book of this kind so varied in its interest and so clear and explicit in its practical directions.

AMY C. RICH.

THIS is a sumptuous little gift-book containing almost two score original illustrations by C. M. Relyea and Will. Vawter which are as natural and true to the simple life depicted in the homely poem as is the poet's charming verse. Of the story here told in rhyme it is only necessary to say that it is worthy of our incomparable poet of the homely and common life in the Middle West. In his peculiar field James Whitcomb Riley has no living peer. The poem gives the story of a memorable Christmas, told by the child in his simple speech not unmingled with the colloquialisms of the country-folk of his neighborhood. In it Santa Claus visits the home and the children catch a glimpse of him, but unfortunately for the paternal Santa his paraphernalia catches fire and to save his life he is rolled in the snow. Before the flames are extinguished, however, his nose is burned and his arm injured. The little ones, however, do not see through the disguise and imagine to the end that it was the real, genuine Santa Claus of the picture-books who visited them, though they cannot understand how their father's nose comes to be so badly *frost-bitten*. It is a charming child-tale in verse.

Painted Shadows. By Richard LeGallienne. Cloth. Pp. 339. Price, \$1.50. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

DEVOTEES of the realistic school in literature will never enjoy Mr. LeGallienne's work, but for those who value a story more for its fine literary quality than for its fidelity to the real conditions of life, his beauty of phrasing and delicacy of imagination hold a charm which never grows old. We have no writer to-day whose work possesses in the same degree the shadowy, elusive fascination of Mr. LeGallienne's best stories, of which the present volume contains several examples. "Poet, Take Thy Lute," "Old Silver," and "The Shadow of the Rose" are equal to the best of Mr. LeGallienne's former work, although this is not true of some of the other stories, as, for instance, "The Woman in Possession," "The First Church of the

Restoration" and "Dear Dead Women." "Beauty's Portmanteau" is a delightfully humorous sketch, and "The Youth of Lady Constantia" is one of the most beautiful idealistic tales of the transforming power of love that I have ever read.

AMY C. RICH.

Love Poems of Byron. Cloth. Pp. 136.
Price, 50 cents. New York: John Lane.

Love Poems of Byron is a dainty little volume, bound in flexible violet cloth, stamped in gold, with gilt edges, and of vest-pocket size, contains more than sixty poems and selections from Byron's verse devoted to love, among which are "When We Two Parted," "Maid of Athens," "Stanzas Written on the Road Between Florence and Pisa," "She Walks in Beauty Like the Night" and "There be None of Beauty's Daughters."

This volume is one of a series of little works entitled "The Lover's Library" which constitutes a veritable treasure-house of poetry of sentiment. The works which have preceded the present volume, and all of which are, uniform with it, are *Love Poems of Shelly*, Robert Browning, Edmond Holmes, Tennyson, Landor, E. B. Browning, Burns, Suckling, Herrick, W. S. Blount, *Sonnets of Shakespeare*, and *Love Songs from the Greek*.

Wanted: a Cook. By Alan Dale. Cloth. Pp. 382. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

SELDOM has it been our pleasure to read a more delightful satire on one phase of our present-day urban life than *Wanted: a Cook*. In this book the well-known dramatic critic who writes under the pseudonym of Alan Dale and who too frequently, in our judgment, sacrifices the demands of honest criticism and a just meed of praise for good work to his own vanity and a desire to say bright things in a cutting way, has treated the servant-girl question in an inimitable manner. Few

housewives in our great cities will fail to appreciate the work which, though exaggerated at times as is the wont of the humorist, is from first to last broadly true, and on the whole the story will prove as excellent a cure for the blues as the first reading of Mark Twain's *Innocents Abroad*.

Chuggins. By H. Irving Hancock. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 94. Price, 50 cents. Philadelphia: Henry Altemus Company.

THIS story describes the exploits of a boy who leaves the home of his uncle when the war with Spain is declared. He finally reaches Tampa and from thence works his way on a transport to Cuba. After several minor adventures he arrives on the firing-line. Here he finds a dead soldier whose gun and cartridges he takes and forthwith rushes into the thick of the fight, deporting himself like a veteran and attracting the attention of Colonel Roosevelt. Later he serves as a water-carrier and aide to a Boston surgeon who is engaged in caring for the dead and wounded on the field. The surgeon, however, is finally seriously wounded, and Chuggins assists him to the hospital and remains with him until they return to New England. The surgeon succeeds in persuading Chuggins' uncle and aunt to allow the boy to return with him to his Boston home, and Chuggins is highly delighted when he hears his benefactor state that he thinks he has sufficient influence to get the lad into West Point. The story is well written and will doubtless appeal to the immature imagination of children. It is prettily bound and well illustrated; but its influence on the mind of the young will be, in our judgment, more vicious than beneficial. It stimulates the war-spirit. The fostering of the savage in the mind of man is bad enough, but to elevate boys of tender years to the position of heroes on the field of blood is, we think, an evil that is only second to that exerted by the yellow-backed tales of bandits and frontier outlaws.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

THE MASTER-SPIRIT IN THE REIGN OF CORRUPTION: This issue of *THE ARENA* opens with Mr. BLANKENBURG's thrilling and realistic story of the sinister career of the late Senator QUAY, the master-spirit in the reign of undemocratic and corrupt practices which has virtually overthrown republican government in the Keystone State and has set the downward pace for other commonwealths, while exerting a baleful influence upon the national government on the one hand and municipal life throughout America on the other. It would be difficult to overestimate the far-reaching influence for evil which has followed the carnival of corruption rendered possible in Pennsylvania by the supremacy of boss and machine-rule, supported and sustained by corporate and privileged interests; and we believe that we are in no wise exaggerating the importance of these papers when we state that, great and serviceable as have been the numerous exposures of present-day corruption and the evils which have become so deadly a menace to the republic, no series of papers heretofore published are so well calculated to arrest the attention of the more thoughtful and arouse the conscience-element of America to action as this historical survey of almost incredible political turpitude and depravity, written by one whose knowledge of all the facts in the story is only surpassed by the superb courage and high moral rectitude displayed in combatting the aggressions of corruption. We would urge all of our readers to call the attention of every thoughtful friend to this series of papers, destined to become historic and of far-reaching importance. They are papers that no thinking American can afford to ignore—papers which all patriots should feel it a sacred duty to disseminate.

How Scandinavia Has Solved the Liquor Problem: The third paper in our series of international contributions dealing with democratic progressive movements and social and economic advance in foreign lands appears in this issue in the masterly presentation of how Sweden and Norway have solved the drink problem through public-control of the liquor traffic. This paper has been prepared for us by Mr. M. ALGER, the secretary to our American Consul at Christiania, a journalist of experience and a painstaking and careful writer. From his discussion it will be noted that there are important points of difference between the uses to which the profits derived from the sale of liquor are put in the two countries, though otherwise the method of control is very similar, and in each instance the supreme aim of the government has been to reduce the crime, misery, poverty and degradation which follow upon an unrestricted traffic. We have received many inquiries from different parts of the country for facts relating to the Gothenburg system, and so far as we call to mind the present paper is the clearest, fullest and most comprehensive magazine discussion of this question that has yet appeared on this side of the Atlantic.

The Expansion of Municipal Activities: During the last two decades Great Britain has made marvelous progress in municipal government.

City after city has taken over the public utilities that were being indifferently run by private corporations whose master-object was to make as great profits as possible for the few who were peculiarly interested in controlling these monopolies. In every instance, so far as we have been able to ascertain, public-ownership in Great Britain has proved a distinct and in most instances a brilliant success, resulting in reduction of fares and other charges to the citizens, increased pay to employees, reduction in hours of labor, and a substantial profit after paying interest and setting aside a certain sum for a sinking-fund. In many instances these sums have been princely in character and by being turned over to the fund known as the Public Good have enormously added to the conveniences, comforts and well-being of the citizens. In America recently there have been many signs of the awakening of the people in regard to their municipal responsibilities, and though sentiment in favor of municipal-ownership is overwhelmingly strong in many centers, the power exerted over the people's servants, the daily press and other opinion-forming agencies by the dangerously rich and powerful monopolies that control the public utilities has been such as to prevent in most instances the people from having an opportunity to take over these public utilities. There has, however, been a wholesome expansion along many lines which has been admirably summarized in the thoughtful paper by the Honorable CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF, Secretary of the National Municipal League, which appears in this issue of *THE ARENA*.

The Divorce Question: Last month we published an exceptionally strong paper giving a discussion of the divorce question from the standpoint of an orthodox Christian. The author, Mrs. SPENCER TRASK, while discouraging the attempts of the extremists to secure prohibitive divorce legislation instead of appealing to the Christian on the ground of his obligations to literally follow the words attributed to Jesus, nevertheless made a strong plea against divorce from the conventional religious view-point. *THE ARENA* believes in fundamental discussions of all the great ethical problems and in giving both sides the opportunity for a hearing. This month we publish an exceptionally vigorous plea for liberal divorce laws presented from the view-point of the science of sex psychology. The author in the preparation of this paper has gone deeply into the subject, consulting the ablest authorities on sex psychology and presenting the issue in the vigorous, fearless, thought-stimulating manner of the careful and fundamental scientific student. It is a paper that will furnish much food for serious reflection to persons who have only listened to superficial discussions of this question.

The Refrigerator-Car Trust Exposure: The revelations made by Mr. W. G. JOERNS, a well-known lawyer and journalist of Duluth, Minnesota, and a contributor to the *Annals of the American Academy of Social Science*, of Philadelphia, in this issue of *THE ARENA* constitute a tale of almost in-

credible infamy—a tale of conspiracy to crush honest industry and plunder the public that has few parallels in the history of modern oppressive acts. That the principal facts were adduced as sworn testimony before the Interstate Commerce Commission makes the revelations all the more impressive. Did Mr. ARMOUR see the coming storm when, after satisfying himself that Mr. ROOSEVELT was bound to be elected, he volunteered the statement to the *New York World* that he favored the election of President ROOSEVELT and had contributed to his campaign-fund? And did he hope by obligating the present administration to save himself from the public wrath on account of the iniquitous action of the beef-trust and the refrigerator-car trust? And if he did do this in imitation of the course followed by Mr. CASSATT of the Pennsylvania Railroad, will it avail him anything? These are questions that doubtless have occurred to tens of thousands of American citizens since the election. Those who hold that President ROOSEVELT spoke the truth when he declared that he was in no way beholden to any interests and that he would carry forward his high obligations to the people regardless of fear or favor, believe that strenuous days are before the oppressive, extortionate, law-evading and law-defying railways and trusts. We regret to confess that we do not find in President ROOSEVELT's past conduct evidences of persistent moral courage and strenuousness in assailing entrenched predatory wealth or corporate and monopolistic aggressions that justify us in holding such views. Certain it is, however, that no President ever had so splendid an opportunity to "curb greed and shackle cunning" as THEODORE ROOSEVELT; and it is equally certain that the American people realize this. It is within the power of the President to make good his promises and implied promises to the American people and head a crusade against the plunder of the millions by the privileged few that would make him one of the best-beloved chief-magistrates that has filled the Presidential chair. But to do this he would be compelled to exert a degree of moral stamina and courage that we feel is not an accompaniment of his physical courage.

Warren and His Cartoons: This month we give our readers the second sketch dealing with American newspaper cartoonists which will be a feature of *THE ARENA* for 1905. Next month we expect to devote to the work of the late THOMAS NAST, with special reference to the history of the rise, progress and overthrow of the Tweed Ring. Never did the pen of a high-minded and conscientious cartoonist do such faithful service for the cause of good government as was wrought by Mr. NAST in what long appeared a hopeless battle against the most powerful and corrupt political ring that ever plundered a city, subsidized a press, degraded moral ideals and disgraced a commonwealth.

The Russo-Japanese Discussion: In this issue we publish a spirited discussion of the Russo-Japanese contention by Judge EDWARD CAMPBELL, of Pennsylvania, and Professor EDWIN MAXEY, I.L.D., M. Dip., of the University of West Virginia, and one of the associate editors of *THE ARENA*. Judge CAMPBELL is a strong partisan of Russia, while Professor MAXEY is heart and soul in sym-

pathy with Japan. These papers, therefore, give the views of champions of both sides. Professor MAXEY is one of the few Americans who hold the academic degree of Master of Diplomacy. He has made diplomatic history the subject of special study and is thoroughly familiar with the present status of the great world-powers and problems.

Matthew Arnold as a Poet: The recent admirable paper by Professor ROBERT T. KERLIN on "Matthew Arnold: 'A Healing and Reconciling Influence'?" is this month supplemented by a delightful paper on the great English writer as a poet. We are glad to note a growing interest in the thought of MATTHEW ARNOLD on both sides of the Atlantic, for while we by no means agree with all of his conclusions, we recognize that the trend and sweep of his thought were upward and toward the high and the noble. He was at all times, to paraphrase EMERSON, "harried by the fiend of love of the Best"; and furthermore he was a powerful conscience-force, and there is nothing that present-day civilization more urgently demands than the conscience-element in literature and life. Mr. PECK's paper will appeal to friends of good literature and high ethics, and it also serves to relieve in a way the rather strenuous character of the leading contributions in this issue.

Some Notable Papers Crowded Out: We had purposed publishing in this issue of *THE ARENA* Mr. GRAY's brilliant paper on the cooperative movement in Great Britain and Mr. HEWES' historical survey of Direct-Legislation in Switzerland, but the exposure of the Armour Refrigerator-Car Trust outrage against the American people was a subject demanding immediate attention, and Mr. BLANKENBURG's paper was somewhat longer than we had anticipated. Thus we have been compelled to carry over both these contributions, together with Mr. POWELL's paper on "The Second Great Struggle Between Autocracy and Democracy in the United States" and the first of two brilliant contributions by Professor KERLIN on "Main Currents of Thought in the Nineteenth Century."

Our New Art Feature: This month we introduce a new art feature such as will appear from time to time in *THE ARENA*, consisting of a full-page half-tone reproduction, printed in sepia ink on India-tint paper, of photographs of some of the best works of American sculptors and painters who are building up a great art in the republic. The possession of fine pictures of these representative works, will we are confident, be highly prized by all our readers. This constitutes one of the many improvements which will be introduced from time to time in this magazine.

This series we open by a representation of Mr. FRANK EDWIN ELWELL's "Little Nell," a part of the eminent sculptor's famous DICKENS group. This creation was given a place of honor in the section of American Sculpture at the World's Fair held at Chicago. Later it was exhibited at the Art Club of Philadelphia, where it was awarded a gold medal. Subsequently it was purchased by the Fairmount Art Association of Philadelphia. Mr. ELWELL, who is one of the associate editors of *THE ARENA*, has for some time been Curator of the Department of Ancient and Modern Statuary in the Metropolitan Museum of Art of New York City.